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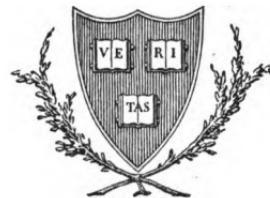
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HOURS IN A PUBLIC LIBRARY.



PUBLIC Libraries established under the provisions of the Free Public Libraries Act, 1850—(which has been extended by the Free Public Libraries and Museums Act. 1885)—are as yet comparatively few in number. It is, however, just possible that one of the results of Local Government reform will be a large increase of such institutions. There will be a wider realisation of the fact that the community has made no sufficient provision for the carrying on of the elementary education painfully acquired in youthful days, at the cost of parents, ratepayers, and taxpayers. Too often much of the money spent in this way is almost wasted. Energies are roused, but are allowed to become dormant, and eventually they die for want of continuous exercise. In populous towns, libraries for the people, started, supported, and worked at the cost of the people, show experimentally how the community may provide means for gathering a fuller harvest from the cultivation begun in the day school. These rate-supported Public Libraries are among the influences acting in the right direction. But as yet they have not been as well used as they might be. A general introduction into counties of such an institution, which really is co-operation for a good purpose, may, however, help us on to the fulfillment of the

B

idea that should animate the People's Library movement. This idea is not satisfied by the providing of pleasant or instructive books for reading by the fireside. It requires that there be made available, for the ill-educated, or the toil-worn, the store of knowledge accumulated in costly books, written too often in an unattractive form of words. The Conference of Librarians has been discussing how this can be done. Perhaps the most popular way of doing it would be by lecture-readings, if the compound term may be permitted. A few educated men and women might resolve to give of their time and talents in gleaning, from the volumes contained in the Public Library, materials for the instruction and enjoyment of their less-fortunate fellow-citizens, meeting them one evening in each week. In a small town or large village this would assuredly be popular, and there would always be ladies and gentlemen prepared to act. But residence in a large town is much less conducive to such a manifestation of public spirit. There are in fact, many persons there well qualified for the work, but the old saying, "One can't see the wood for the trees," exactly illustrates the situation. The press, however, is recognized as a popular guide and teacher, and in its columns one may assume the pleasant task of being a companion to the reader for an hour in a Public Library, without seeming to force one's-self into a singular notoriety. This is what the writer of this series of papers hopes to be. And just as a lover of books may go into a Library and spend his leisure hour in dipping into the pages, first of a volume on one subject, and then of a volume on another subject, so it will be with these papers. There will be no attempt at systematic exhaustion of one topic, and then the turning to something new. On the contrary, the reader will have no want of variety. And if only he can be stimulated to use the People's Library for his own improvement and enjoyment, by a close personal acquaintance with the riches stored on its shelves, the papers will not have been written in vain.

Glimpses into Old Records.

These glimpses we will get just now from the pages of three Blue-Books. Pray, kind reader, be not alarmed. Though the covers are of the bluest, the contents do not relate to present day politics. Our special volumes are the three issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the years 1870, 71, and 72—the beginning of a valuable series not yet ended, and of which much more may be said later on.

Just a word at the outset about this Royal Commission. It was issued on April 2nd, 1869, to discover and make known to the public what was to be found of public interest in the collections of manuscripts and papers belonging to institutions and private persons. "The elucidation of History, and the illustration of Constitutional Law, Science, and Literature," were the objects to be kept in view by the Royal Commissioners and their assistants. The proposition immediately commended itself to those who held the possibilities of its fulfilment. This is made manifest in the three Blue Books above-mentioned. They form, as it were, a good compendium, which in after years the Commission could set forth in detail.

OF THE FIRST IMPORTANCE.

The House of Lords' historical documents, which are reported to number 29,507 down to the 1800, are now being described in detail. In these earlier reports one comes across some curious items. For example:—"The Lords were never satisfied with the *copy* of a document offered in evidence, or brought under their notice; nothing but the original was allowed to be received. Even the House of Commons submitted to their lordships' rule, and invariably sent the originals, while they retained only a copy for themselves." This is one of the best of illustrations of the power formerly enjoyed by

I. 1

Historical Manuscripts Commission. at the Battle of Naseby, which any one may now see in cipher, and read in translation. So it also accounts for the fact that the original manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer, as appended to the Act of Uniformity, was, a few years ago, found among the muniments of the House of Lords. Here, too, is preserved the famous letter in which Charles I. threw his all too-faithful servant, the Earl of Strafford—of "Thorough" policy—to the Parliamentary lions. The whereabouts of this letter was not known for many years. It, as well as many another important document, was saved from destruction, in the great fire of the year 1834, by the exertion of a Mr. Stone Smith, then an officer of the House, as he was nearly 40 years later. He knew by tradition only of the value of the documents, which extend back to the year 1479.

I. 2

ENGLISH BIBLES.

III. 4

Among the documents of the year 1558 is a draft of "An Act for reducing the diversities of Bibles now extant in the English tongue to one settled vulgar translated from the original." This was to authorize the Archbishop of Canterbury and any five of the Bishops to arrange for the translation of the Scriptures, the cost of the work to be met by levies on "such cathedral churches and colleges as shall be thought requisite, and any temporal person may give gift or legacy for furtherance of the work." The English version, commonly spoken of as the "authorised," and with which all of us are familiar, dates from the year 1611.

INTERFERENCE WITH TRADE.

III. 5

Petitions of artisans against the importation of foreign goods; drafts of measures respecting the export of herrings and sea fish, free of duty, in vessels, with cross-sails; respecting "the making of glass by strangers and outlandish men"; against the retailing of linen cloth by aliens in London, or any borough or market town of England; regulating the trade of "tanners, curriers, shoemakers, and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather;" against buying fat cattle to sell them alive requiring dealers in London in second-hand clothes to report to one of the ordinary yeomen waiters, and hold possession for 16 days: these are among the curiosities of the legislation attempted in the 16th century.

III. 6

REGULATION OF BAKERS.

Bakers are complaining now, that their trade is unduly interfered with by Act of Parliament. In 1592-3, Parliament was discussing a Bill which would have permitted only "sized bread" to be made for sale, because "Bakers make and sell at more than the just value odd-shaped, great, and unsized loaves, which the Magistrates and others have no means of weighing." "Fancy bread" in another guise !

III. 7

REGULATION OF BREWERS.

The brewers in their turn were in danger 23 Henry VIII. allowed them to keep "one or two coopers, and no more, for the repair of their barrels." In 1593 they were employing "as many as 8 or 10 coopers to 'staff and trim, alter and translate foreign and usual casks' for their beer ; a beer brewer in future to have in his house two coopers at the most, an ale brewer one." A week later there is another Bill under consideration, to require that "only two kinds of beer and ale be brewed, viz, strong and small, and the strong and small not at the same brewing ; county and town officers to have power to enter brewhouses for the purpose of enforcing the Act." Thirty years later, the brewers were threatened with fines for failure to keep Henry's Act : but again they seem to have had friends at Court, for nothing came of the attempted restriction. More than one entry, however, in these records shows that the licensing system was thus early fully established. A book exists showing the licenses issued from October 10th, 1617, to May 30th, 1620, for the keeping of alehouses, the license being in every case personal. The following is quoted as an example :—"A license granted the tenth of September, 1688, to Thurstone Ashley, in St. Clement's, Ipswich, clothier, to keep the mermaid in his house there wherein he now dwelleth, during the lives of himself, John Ashley, his brother, and John Humphrey, of St. Clement's aforesaid." Fine £5, rent 5s.

III. 8

III. 17

EXCLUSIVE DEALING.

The boycotting of stranger-traders, which, of course, took the form of "exclusive dealing" with freemen in towns, and with natives in the country, was, in the days into which we are now looking, quite the proper thing to be done by a true-born Englishmen. In 1593 a Bill was brought to the Lords from the Commons providing that "for the protection of English

III. 8

Historical Manuscripts Commission. retail dealers, no foreigner, unless he has served seven years' apprenticeship," might sell foreign wares by retail "saving the rights of denizens now trading." The House read the Bill a second time, and then dropped it. In 1621 we find an attempt made in the Commons to prevent any man setting up as a broker unless he be English-born.

III. 25

TITHES AND THEY WHO ENJOY THEM.

The Tithes Question was not unknown in the 16th century. Witness copy of decree of the Court of Exchequer brought up to the House of Lords in January, 1596-7. The Queen had presented John Welby to the vicarage of Fotheringhey, in the county of Northampton. But the new Vicar found neither parsonage nor tithes, one Gamaliel Crys claiming all the tithes and ecclesiastical dues arising within the parish, and consequently the parsonage also. His plea was that the parish was served from "ancient times" by a college. This had one master, 12 chaplains, 8 clerks, and 13 choristers, with "perpetual succession, to celebrate divine service, for ever," taking as pay the whole rectory impropriate; that one of the chaplains was annually chosen as curate; that after the college was dissolved all the profits passed to the Crown, and that the Queen granted the rectory and church, with all their rights, to two persons, Rd. Okeham and Rd. Bittinson, with succession to the heirs of Okeham, free of all charges except £8 for a curate. The Bishop was said to be satisfied. But the Exchequer was not so easily content. It found, on enquiry, that there had been a vicarage before the foundation of the College; adjudged to John Welby the profits of the Vicarage [*i.e.*, the small tithes], possession of the vicarage house, and 15 acres of land. Well was it for the parish that John Welby could afford to appeal to a Court of Law. In 1606 a Bill was sent up from the Commons to require "The holders of a plurality of benefices to provide a preaching minister in each at a stipend of not less than £20 per annum;" and noone "thereafter holding a benefice with cure of souls to be admitted to hold any other benefice therewith." The Lords were not at all eager for this reform, read the Bill the first time and dropped it.

III. 11

REFORMING MORALS.

III. 13

A Bill brought from the Commons in June, 1610, intended for the reformation of morals, gives us reason to believe that the spirit of the

old sumptuary laws was not yet extinct. It provided that persons, above 14 years of age, convicted of "swearing by the name of God in vain" should pay the following fines, viz.:—A baron, 20s.; a gentleman, 5s.; any other person, 2s. If children, under 14 years of age, be convicted the parents to be informed, and to correct them by "whipping or scourging with a rod." Parents failing to punish their children, to pay 5s. on conviction. All fines to go to the use of the poor. Bill dropped after commitment: evidently it infringed the rights and privileges of the Peers.

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KINDLY CHURCHWARDENS.

The Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Cheddar, in Somerset,—of Cheddar cheese renown—as quoted in the report for the year 1872, are so curious that one is compelled to ask one's self whether it may not be possible that a great amount of interesting material lies hidden in similar accounts in our own district. The number of "distressed gentlemen" relieved by the parish authorities is astonishing; one beggar visits the town on horseback. Equally remarkable is the ease with which the churchwardens accept any tale told. Here are a few of the entries:—"In 1624, paid a sayler that came from Turkey, iiid. Paid a blind woman that was carried about upon a horse, *vid.* Paid a blind preacher iiis. *ivd.* In 1631: Paid a minister's widow, which had her husband killed in France for standinge for our religion, *vid.* Paid an Irishman that travayled with a passe *iiid.* In 1634: paid i. soliye that was redemed from the Turkes *ivd.* Paid 3 more that came from the same place, *vs.* In 1637: paid Thomas Durban and Richard Smith, Constables, for settinge up the whippinge-post and for carrying Peakeman's wench to prison, *xiiis.* In 1638: paid a Scoller with a surtevicate *vid.* Paid one William Jones, a minister, upon his request and by the consent of many of the Parishe, *vs.* In 1639: paid 3 men that were maymed by the Turkes *iiid.* In 1640: Item, paid for iii. trees for the church, *iili.* Item, paid for meate for the oxen when they did fetch the trees, *vs.* Item, paid for 8 Irishe people with a passe *viiiid.* Paid Richard Crespin's boy and maid for whitlyminge of the yle that was built *iis.* *vid.* In 1634 and 1642 the receipts include sums for "a seate upon the binch, under the minister's pewe," for the life of the purchaser, or for a time dependent upon the life of another, the price varying according to position on the bench, from 2s. to 12d.

III. 329

III. 330

Historical Manuscripts Commission. In 1643 the payments include Paid 2 Irishe woomen and 4 children, which had the Lorde Hopton's letter, being a knight's daughter *vs.* In 1619 : paid a travailinge woman and a minister that came from Ireland xviid. Paid a company of distressed Irishe people, xiid. Paid a poore distressed gentleman and his familiy, xiid. Paid a poore gentlewoman and her chil-dren, xiid. Paid two widdowes and seven children that came from Ireland, xviid. Paid a gentle-man, his wife, and six children xvid. In 1666 : Given to a poore man, 2 women, and 5 children, going to Ireland, 1s. Given to a poore gent-woeman and 10 more of her company, 1s. Given to a seaman which was taken by the French, 6d. In 1672 the beggar's tale was of being taken by the Dutch. Vermin and wild birds were paid for in enormous quantities, leading to the conclusion that the parish was overrun with such pests. The birds mentioned which would appear to have been most abundant were sparrows, choughs, bullfinches [then and yet called "hoops" in Somerset], crows, rooks, magpies [peimagettes or meigetepeys]. Mice, polecats, rats, hedgehogs, grayes or badgers, and foxes were also abundant, the last-named two being paid for at 12 pence per head.

III. 331

LANDLORDS AND COMMONERS' QUESTIONS.

III. 10

In the 16th century there was continual bickering between landowners and commoners, because of the breaking up of land which had been for centuries used as pasture. The House of Commons would appear to have proposed legislation of a drastic kind, for in December, 1597, it read, the first time, a Bill "to restrain the sowing of 'oade' [oats] in meadows and cow pastures." The grounds for this Bill are thus stated:—"Hay is scarce in some places in consequence of pasture lands being grown with 'oade.'" No person was to sow oade on land which within 20 years had been employed as pasture. The export of corn, which at that time went on to a large extent from the Norfolk coast, led to measures in restraint, and giving power to Magistrates to appoint not more than six ports and places in each county for shipping and embarking of corn and grain. The particular evil which was to be provided against was the shipping of corn "upon the open sea-shore and other creeks and places." At the same date—January, 1597-8—we learn that "corn is scarce, in consequence of exportation and bad harvests." It was provided that "no wheat, rye, barley,

beans, peas, or oats of the growth of this realm be put on board ship, for exportation to any foreign country or to Scotland, within one whole year after the reaping." In 1620-1 an effort was made in the Commons, and failed, to set about "the improving and better ordering of commons, inter-commons, and waste grounds, for the good of the poor commoners and all interested therein." The mode proposed was by Commissioners, who should apportion all common land in severalty among those having common rights. The Journals of the year 1623-4 contain evidence of the depopulation and decay of farms, by the conversion of arable into pasture. Farm-houses and houses of husbandry were being pulled down. It was accordingly proposed that any such house being pulled down, the yearly value should be paid, for the use of the poor of the parish, until such house was re-built, and a fine of 2s. per acre be paid upon all arable land converted into pasture.

III. 29

Under date 1597 we have a bit of Norfolk history. On December 19th in that year "the farmers of the possessions of the Bishopric of Norwich, lately belonging to the monastery of St. Bennett's" petition Sir William Periam, Knight, Lord Chief Baron, to give his support to a Bill they have "put up to the present Parliament." The cause of the Bill is that "They are in danger of being disturbed in the possession of their farms, by Theophilus Adams and others, who have fraudulently obtained the fee farm of these possessions for a yearly rent of 40s. when the lands are worth £2,000 a year.

III. 10

GAOLS IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

In the report on the Devonshire MSS. at Bolton Abbey we have an instructive letter of the 17th century, which enclosed two calendars of the gaols, with the names of the offenders and their punishments. The writer says:— When he arrived at Newcastle he found that three of the most notorious prisoners had escaped. . . . The gaol was so weak and noisome, he wonders they all had not the like liberty in death, since there had died in that place one other poor creature since the last assizes. . . . The contagion lasts; two died being brought to the bar; and others there and at Carlisle fell down speechless before us while they were at their trial. . . . The disorder in that country caused by want; numbers die of hunger."

III. 38

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II. 38

III. 9

POST CARDS ANTICIPATED.

The reporter on Lord Lyttleton's manuscripts makes a note of cards being used as missives in the 18th century; of course it is not known whether they were sent by post. The one found among the Lyttleton papers was from Lord Chesterfield, thanking Lord Lyttleton for the first two volumes of his history [of Henry 2nd], and begging for the third, which he hungers for.

FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE.

An interesting entry in the Lords' Journals, under date April 9th, 1593, is a reminder of the perils men had undergone "for conscience sake." Lawrence Humphry and Jane his wife had fled to Geneva, in Queen Mary's reign, for conscience sake; and their daughter, Justin Dormer, born there, required an Act of Parliament "to put her in the nature of mere English." It is a generally accepted doctrine that children of English parents are subjects of the British crown, no matter where they may have been born. The above quoted Act seems to show that this is, however, a modern dogma.

Norfolk and Norwich Gleanings.



NORWICH "DOOME BOOK."

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Manuscripts
Commission.

I. 85

The records of the Bishopric of Norwich find a home in some rooms over the east walk of the Cathedral Cloisters. The Dean and Chapter have their separate collection. Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, has left his mark, a cross within a circle, on the Bishop's books. He undoubtedly intended this to be an intimation to all searchers, who might come after him, that they would find the results of his examination in his local history. His marking of the books was thus not only permissible, but advantageous. No one can say as much of the habit of many readers in Free Libraries. Men of no proven capacity, and working to no purpose, they set themselves up as teachers and critics, by marking passages as of special value, just because

their own particular ideas are mirrored therein. For such men there is no excuse. The one document, of all the Bishop's books, that very many people would like to see is the Norwich Domesday Book. This is described as having been written on vellum early in the 15th century. The language used is Latin, the writing exquisite, and the form of the letters modern Gothic. The pages are abundantly ornamented with rubrics [*i.e.*, letters coloured bright red] and occasionally with letters in blue, and gold and other paintings. This choice record is a survey of all the parishes in the diocese, with the temporalities and spiritualities of the Prior and Monks, and of other religious houses; a description of the livings, and in some instances the names of the patrons. The one fact which it records of special importance, that fixes the date of the work, is the murder of Sir Robert de Salle in the Norfolk and Norwich rising, which emulated Wat Tyler's. A manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge speaks of this volume of nearly 1,000 pages as an unparalleled book, which "when some of the lower ranke of the heathenish Edomites (of whom Edm. Rust, of St. Bennett's Abbey, in Norff. was chiefe ring-leader) seized upon the Register Books of this poore Church, was as miraculously saved out of their Turish pawes as Joash was by Jehosheba, II. Kings."

I. 87

A 14TH CENTURY NEWS LETTER.

Among the Chapter records, which are invaluable as a history of the Cathedral, we get a news-letter of the year 1318. Bishop John Salmon sends news to the Prior, of the doings in Parliament, then sitting at York. King Edward wants money for his journey to Scotland, and the laity and clergy are in no hurry to grant the "aid" asked for. The Bishop, who writes under the homely title "Brother John," breaks a bit of bad news in this fashion:—"Last of all we signify you—for which we are the more sorry—that it will be necessary for us to assist the King, as it is at present our belief, until the beginning of Lent, at the least, not without grievous expenses, and labours almost intolerable. And, therefore, we do the more earnestly ask to be aided by the prayers of yourself and your brethren."

I. 88

HOME INDUSTRIES.

An amusing example of attempted protection of native industries is found in a Bill rejected on a second reading by the Commons in 1624. It

III. 31

Historical Manuscripts Commission sought "to restrain the worsted weavers within the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich from buying or using any other yarn, to be employed in the manufacture of worsteds, other than such as has been of wools of Norfolk growth, and wrought within the said county of Norfolk and city of Norwich." This is a capital illustration of the logical application of protection.

NORWICH 15TH AND 16TH CENTURY PRICES.

III. 89

The daily accounts kept by Monastery officials in olden time have furnished abundant materials from which to write the history of agriculture and prices. The Dean and Chapter of Norwich are in possession of many such accounts, set forth in rolls, from the year 1275 to the year 1535. The gardener's rolls, as written by Brother Bartholomew de Brethenham, gardener in the year 1419-20, enable us to live those days over again. Among the receipts are:—For pot herbs, *lekyis* [leeks], beets [*poretis*], and plants, 15s. 8d. For onions sold, 41s. 2d. For beans and bean straw, 52s. 6d. For lease of the meadows, with the alleys [*aleyis*—perhaps for bowling]. For the hermit's house, at the Bishop's gates, 20d. For the garden within the gates, 18d. Among the items of expenditure:—For mustard seed, 10s. For milk and butter for the convent, 4s. 4d. For garlic bought and onion seed, 9s. For hoeing, planting, and gathering, 26s. 8d. For leather gloves, 2s. 6d. To labourers in the garden at various times, 4s. 4d. For catching moles, 4d.

Brother Robert Brethenham held office as gardener for a year in the 30th year of King Henry 6th (1451-2), and he, too, has left us some figures valuable as a means for comparing present with past times:—For apples bought for preserving [*fecturys*] 6d. For making wythes, 2 days' task, being 4d. For paper and parchment, and writing the account, 8d. For the writing of the indenture as to hire of the garden, 8d. Allowed the gardener for books and other expenses, 12d. Paid to Ralph Barsom and Richard Cawstone, carpenters, for mending the gates, 8 days, 4s. For nails and *yren* [iron work] 8½d. For two cartloads of clay for the same work, 10d. There are also payments for making a new wall of clay to a *redere* [thatcher with reeds], master and man, they finding their own board, for one day and a half, 15d.; for osiers and bindings, 3½d.; for laths and *le lath-nayle*, 5½d.

FEASTING IN NORWICH.

Historical
Manuscripts
Commission.

There has been so frequent examination of the records of the City of Norwich that the Commissioner contented himself with a few quotations from the Assembly Books of the Guild of St. George. These picture the robing and the feasting of the city worthies—which would appear to have been among the most important things thought of. We see in the 15th century “the brethren having a dyner and a fest at Seynt George Messe.” And to compel this evidence of good fellowship “any brethren absent are to pay vid.” The “Fest-makers” to have 4d. of such sum, and the Guild 2*l.* Moreover, no brother was to wear a red gown, unless he was one of the 24 Aldermen of the City, or the Alderman of the Guild. A year after this order was made, came one requiring each of the brethren “to have hodes at the Day next comyng * * * * the colers, a sang-wene medele, and a red, which red every man shall purvey of his owen, or wher he wylle.” But as to the cloth three brethren had the monopoly of supply, “and what persone that fetches not out his half-hode, schall paye to the purveyours ii*s.*” Except that our modern guilds, the Friendly Societies, do not appoint monopolists, there is a wonderful likeness to these old-time regulations, in certain annual doings in our rural districts, sashes taking the place of the hood when there is dinner and feasting of the guild. Our modern guilds, however, are evidently not so ready to spend their all on feasting, and thus run into debt, as did the Norwich Guild of St. George. This Guild owed the “Preste of the Gylde,” only five years after the above-cited regulation, £8, and Walter Orlagere [the clockmaker] 3*s.* 8*d.*, which debts and some others the Assembly agreed to pay off by instalments during the following eight years.

The city was, however, ever given to a display of hospitality, and would seem to have studied to exercise the virtue economically. A hundred and forty years after the date of the Guild entries, viz., in the year 1597, as we learn from a document in the Rev. Dr. Hopkinson’s collection, at Malvern Wells, W. Mingay, Esq., Registrar of the Bishop of Norwich, and Mayor of Norwich, feasted the Duke of Norfolk, Lords, Knights, &c. The cost of his week’s outlay was £1. 15*s.* The first item in the account is “a surloyne of beef, eight stone, at 8*d.* per stone.” Compare this modest expenditure with that set down in another document, in the same collection,

III. 104

III. 265

Historical Manuscripts as the provision made, in 1594, for 10 members of the Privy Council, who were attending to the business of the Star Chamber. These ten men must have had enormous appetites,—or, as is much more likely, their servants feasted well at the public cost. Here are the items of the cook's provision :—Sweet butter, 3 old lings, 4 green fishes, 2 salt salmons, 3 great pikes, 2 smaller pikes, 6 great carps, smaller carps, 4 tenches, 12 knobberds, 1 grey fish, 4 perchs, artichokes, 5 pair of soles, 1 conger, 4 barbels, 200 prawns, 18 flounders, 5 crabs, 6 lobsters, 2 turbots, 12 whitings, 3 gurnerds, 5 dories, 8 plaice, eggs, 2 capons, 4 chickens, 4 rabbits, pounded butter, herbs, strawberries, apples, peas, gooseberries, oranges, lemons, quinces, barberries, rosewater. Portage, 2s. 6d. Boat hire, 3s. 8d. Total cost, £12 11s. 8d.

BLICKLING TREASURES.

I. 14

Blickling Hall, whose old name is linked with the Boleyn family, of which the Norwich City MS. of the Wicliff Bible bears witness, is particularly noticed in the first report of the Commission for its two manuscript treasures:—an 8th or 9th century copy, on vellum, of the Psalter, written in Lombardic characters, with Anglo-Saxon glosses over many of the words; and a 10th century volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies. This last has been printed, with a translation, by the Early English Text Society, so that it is possible for visitors to a Free Library to get a closer acquaintance with this rare Norfolk treasure. Could the history of these manuscripts be written, and especially that of the older, how marvellous it would be. We can only speculate whether or not it was part of the plunder collected by one of the Northfolk during a raid on Mediterranean ports. These choice relics have, as companions in the library, a 14th century “History of the World from Adam to Pompey,” written by a French 14th century scribe; and various 16th and 17th century documents of interest to the historian.

A SUSPICIOUS NORFOLK COMPANY.

III. 263

In the Rev. Dr. Francis Hopkinson's MSS. is found a letter from Thomas Jermy to Wm. Paston, Esq., Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, dated Jan. 31st, 1565. This letter tells of “sundry suspicious and lewde disposed persons, a great brotherwood of them, who be cutte-purses and notable thieves, that are appointed to meeete at Lynne Marte, and accompanied with their

women. Some of them be well horsed and clenlye. They have packes and fardells, and Manuscripts selleth wares ; their names I send unto you here Commission. inclosed in a paper Their companion is one Begnall, of Watton. . . . When they have cut a purse, strayght they convey the same to one of their compayne, who is a peddele ; and never make further search but to the pedler's packe, or the bottom of his pedde or hamp, for there it is to be hadde." The writer sends a note of four other notable thieves who are to be at the Marte, and advises as to the best mode of taking these rogues.

FEN AND OTHER NORFOLK LANDS.

The reclamation of the fens was the cause, in 1597, for a Bill authorising "the recovery of three hundred thousand acres, the more or less, of wastes 'marish' and watery grounds in the Isle of Ely and in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk." A Commission was proposed to ascertain the rights of the Crown, and neighbouring inhabitants, and all having rights of common in the fens to be rated proportionably towards the expenses of draining.

III. 10

In or about the same year, Parliament, by an Act, would appear to have "established an award made between Edward Colton, gent., and Thomas Harvey, yeoman, for the assurance of certain lands in the county of Norfolk to one Thomas Poynett and his heirs for ever."

III. 10

THETFORD CHARITIES.

In the Lords Journals for March 1609-10 we get a glimpse of the beginning of the Thetford School and Charity Foundation. Mr. Bowyer, Clerk of the Parliaments, writing to Sir George Rennell, Kt., says :—"The Bill for the school and other good uses in Thetford is ready, and the meeting of the Committee fixed. The business concerns Sir Edward Clere, who is understood to be a prisoner in the King's Bench. Information is desired respecting the cause of his imprisonment, that an order may be made for the appearance of himself or his counsel before the Committee."

III. 12

In John Ruskin's Company.

One of the small company of seers and prophets to whom men in our day look for instruction in right-doing and right-thinking is John Ruskin. He has been preaching a gospel of honest work during the greater part of a long life. At first, men refused to hear, still less to take heed to the new ideas. These were opposed to all the notions then received. But John Ruskin went on proclaiming his gospel, and exemplifying in his own life, as he himself has said, that when men are rightly occupied their amusement grows out of their work. He has had his reward in the devoted discipleship of very many men and women in Great Britain, America, and the Colonies.

THE MAN AND HIS WORKS.

A large proportion of the world's worthiest men are only known to us by writings which are strictly impersonal. Mr. Ruskin has, on the contrary, never hesitated to gather, for his readers, lessons from his own life. Hence the public know all about "The Master," as his followers fondly term him. Some of the details scattered up and down his books, and especially in "Fors Clavigera" and "Præterita," are petty and unworthy of record; but even they lend a certain degree of animation to the picture Mr. Ruskin presents of himself, and without them the likeness would be imperfect.

John Ruskin, born in the year 1819, the son of a London wine merchant, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, studied art under Copley Fielding, and Harding, and became famous by his advocacy of the claims of Turner—the now world-renowned English artist—to the admiration of the world. The art-gospel, which he then began to preach, took form in his most brilliant book, "Modern Painters," and in other less popular works, "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," "The Stones of

1846 to 1860

Venice," being the chief of these. Since the time of the acceptance of Ruskin's teaching by the public, and the drawing together of disciples, many other works have been given to the faithful. Mr. Ruskin, says the *Edinburgh Review*, has become "the centre of a sect. . . . He has ideas which would be worth something without their veil of rhetoric, if he could only bring himself to exhibit them in unadorned simplicity.

His descriptions of nature and natural phenomena are often magical in their vivid and picturesque realism." But John Ruskin claims to be a teacher of ethics no less than a teacher of art. The wonder then is that he should refuse to bring his teachings within reach of the multitude. But the truth is, he deems the majority of the people incapable of comprehending the meaning of much which he has written. His books being, by their costliness, beyond the reach of any save the wealthy, here in England, most persons who want to know something of John Ruskin must seek him in a Public Library. The Americans, with their usual freedom, have, however, made available to all classes, not only his works, in their complete form; but they have also, in eclectic fashion, put forth volumes of selections from his writings; his thoughts on moral and spiritual things; and his teachings on art; so that John Ruskin is much better known on the other side the Atlantic than he is in his native land.

Mr. Ruskin being a picturesque writer and an artist in words no less than in colours, the reader is almost sure to find in every one of his pages some bit of word-painting, both realistic and pleasing, like the following :

FAMILY LIFE.

My maternal grandfather was a sailor who used to embark, like Robinson Crusoe, at Yarmouth, and come back at rare intervals, making himself very delightful at home. I have an idea that he had something to do with the herring business, but am not clear on that point; my mother never being much communicative concerning it. He spoiled her and her (younger) sister with all his heart, when he was at home; unless there appeared any tendency to equivocation, or imaginative statements on the part of the children, which were always unforgiveable. My mother being once perceived by him to have distinctly told him a lie, he sent the servant out forthwith to buy an entire bundle of new broom twigs to whip her with. "They did not hurt me so much as one would have done," said my mother, "but I thought a good deal of it."

Edinburgh
Review,
No. 341.
(Jan 1888.)
Page 250.

Fors
Clavigera,
Letter 46.
Page 220.

Fors
Clavigera,
Letter 45.
Page 124.

My mother was a sailor's daughter, and, please you, one of my aunts was a baker's wife, the other a tanner's, and I don't know much more about my family, except that there used to be a green-grocer of the name in a small shop near the Crystal Palace.

British
Quarterly
Review,
Vol. 32,
Page 438.

MODERN PAINTERS.

Seventeen years had come and gone between Mr. Ruskin's putting forth the first volume of his "Modern Painters" and the last. A summary of results, as given in the pages of a quarterly of the year 1856, is worth quoting:—That Mr. Ruskin has been not only a most influential teacher of art, but a sound teacher too, must, we think, be conceded by all, except those who, true to early prejudices, hold fast to the coarse matter-of-fact of the Dutch school, or to the platitudes of West. . . . How widely has a love for art been awakened and fostered by the glowing eloquence of a writer whose word-pictures are unmatched, and whose fine enthusiasm carries the reader along with him, compelled to admire, even where he cannot approve. And, however in some points we may not wholly agree with his views, his generous advocacy of the pure and the true always commands our respect. . . . Where is the writer, save Wordsworth, who has given us such unsurpassed pictures of the beauties and the glories of the visible Creation? Where the writer who has so lovingly dwelt upon, not only the majesty of the steadfast rocks of the everlasting hills, or those "tall white mountains of clouds which the narrow sunbeams smite upon until they melt and moulder away into a dust of blue rain," or the changeful glories of sunrise or sunset, "things which the angels work out for us daily, and yet vary eternally"—not these alone, but the loveliness that clothes the wayside bank, the rich broidery of leaf and bud that decks the green sward beneath our feet, the exquisite colouring of the humblest wild flower, the unsuspected beauty that lurks in the simplest leaf-form?

Here are a few specimens of style from this work.

THE CAMPAGNA OF ROME.

Modern
Painters,
Vol 1. preface
to 2nd Edition

Perhaps there is no more impressive scene on earth than the solitary extent of the Campagna of Rome under evening light. Let the reader imagine himself for a moment withdrawn from the sounds and motion of the living world, and sent forth alone into this wild and wasted plain. The earth yields and crumbles beneath his foot,

tread he never so lightly, for its substance is white, hollow, and carious, like the dusty wreck of the bones of men. The long, knotted grass waves and tosses feebly in the evening wind, and the shadows of its motion shake feverishly along the banks of ruin that lift themselves to the sunlight. Hillocks of mouldering earth heave around him, as if the dead beneath were struggling in their sleep ; scattered blocks of black stone, four square, remnants of mighty edifices, not one left upon another, lie upon them to keep them down. A dull purple, poisonous haze stretches level along the desert, veiling its spectral wrecks of massy ruins, on whose rents the red light rests like dying fire on defiled altars. The blue ridge of the Alban Mount lifts itself against a solemn space of green, clear, quiet sky. Watch towers of dark clouds stand steadfast along the promontories and the Apennines. From the plain to the mountains, the shattered aqueducts, pier beyond pier, melt into the darkness, like shadowy and countless troops of funeral mourners, passing from a nation's grave.

Modern
Painters

SPLENDOURS OF SUNSET.

When Nature herself takes a colouring fit, and Vol. 1. Part 1. does something extraordinary, something really Sec. 2. Ch. 2. to exhibit her power, she has a thousand means of rising above herself. But, incomparably, the noblest manifestations of her capability of colour are in these sunsets among the high clouds. I speak especially of the moment before the sun sinks, when his light turns pure rose colour, and when this light falls upon a zenith covered with countless cloud-forms of inconceivable delicacy, threads and flakes of vapour, which would in common daylight be pure snow-white, and which give, therefore, fair field to the tone of light. There is, then, no limit to the multitude, and no check to the intensity of the hues assumed. The whole sky from the zenith to the horizon becomes one molten, mantling sea of colour and fire. Every black bar turns into massy gold, every ripple and wave into unsullied, shadowless crimson, and purple, and scarlet, and colours for which there are no words in language, and no ideas in the mind—things which can only be conceived while they are visible; the intense hollow blue of the upper sky melting through it all, showing here deep, and pure, and lightness; there, modulated by the filmy, formless body of the transparent vapour, till it is lost imperceptibly in its crimson and gold. The concurrence of circumstances necessary to produce the sunsets of which I speak

Modern Painters. does not take place above five or six times in a summer, and then only for a space of from five to ten minutes, just as the sun reaches the horizon.

ONLY A BLADE OF GRASS.

Vol. 3, Gather a single blade of grass, and examine, **Part 4, ch. 14,** for a minute, quietly, its narrow, sword-shaped strip of fluted green. Nothing, as it seems there, of notable goodness or beauty. A very little strength, and a very little tallness, and a few delicate long lines meeting in point—not a perfect point either, but blunt and unfinished; by no means a creditable or apparently much-cared-for example of Nature's workmanship; made, as it seems, only to be trodden on to-day, and to-morrow to be cast into the oven; and a little pale and hollow stalk, feeble and flaccid, leading down to the dull brown fibres of roots. And yet, think of it well, and judge whether of all the gorgeous flowers that beam in summer air, and of all strong and goodly trees, pleasant to the eyes or good for food—stately palm and pine, strong ash and oak, scented citron, burdened vine—there be any by man so deeply loved, by God so highly graced, as that narrow point of feeble green Observe the peculiar characters of the grass, which adapt it especially for the service of man, are its apparent *humility* and *cheerfulness*. Its humility, in that it seems created only for lowest service—appointed to be trodden on, and fed upon. Its cheerfulness, in that it seems to exult under all kinds of violence and suffering. You roll it, and it is stronger the next day; you mow it, and it multiplies its shoots, as if it were grateful; you tread upon it, and it only sends up richer perfume. Spring comes, and it rejoices with all the earth—glowing with variegated flame of flowers—waving in soft depth of fruitful strength. Winter comes, and, though it will not mock its fellow-plants by growing then, it will not pine and mourn, and turn colourless or leafless as they. It is always green, and is only the brighter and gayer for the hoar-frost.

HELPFUL AND SACRED WORK.

Vol. 5, The most helpful and sacred work which can **Part 9, ch. 11.** at present be done for humanity is to teach people (chiefly by example, as all best teaching must be done) not how "to better themselves," but how to "satisfy themselves." It is the curse of every evil nation and evil creature to eat, and *not* be satisfied. . . . And in order to teach men to be satisfied it is necessary fully to

understand the art and joy of humble life—this, at present, of all arts or sciences, being the only most needing study. Humble life—that is to say, proposing to itself no future exaltation, but only a sweet continuance, not excluding the idea of foresight; but wholly of fore-sorrow, and taking no troubulous thought for coming days; so, also, not excluding the idea of providence or provision, but wholly of accumulation; the life of domestic affection and domestic peace, full of sensitiveness to all elements of costless and kind pleasure;—therefore, chiefly to the loveliness of the natural world.

Modern
Painters.

MAN'S BUSINESS IN LIFE.

Men's proper business in this world falls mainly into three divisions: First, to know them-
selves and the existing state of things they have to do with. Secondly, to be happy in them-
selves and in the existing state of things. Thirdly, to mend themselves and the existing state of things, so far as they are marred or mendable. These, I say, are the three plain divisions of proper human business on the earth. For these three the following are usually substituted and adopted by human creatures: First, to be totally ignorant of themselves and the existing state of things. Secondly, to be miserable in themselves and in the existing state of things. Thirdly, to let themselves and the existing state of things alone (at least, in the way of correction). The dispositions which induce us to manage, thus wisely, the affairs of this life seem to be: First a fear of disagreeable facts and conscious shrinking from clearness of light, which keep us from examining ourselves, and increase gradually into a species of instinctive terror of all truth, and love of glosses, veils, and decorative lies of every sort. Secondly, a general readiness to take delight in anything, past, future, far off, or somewhere else, rather than in things now, near, and here; leading us gradually to place our pleasure principally in the exercise of the imagination, and to build all our satisfaction on things as they are *not*.

Vol. 3.

Part 4, ch. 4.

THE STONES OF VENICE.

Mr. Ruskin, after an acquaintance with Venice extending over 17 years, returned to the city to determine questions of the date of erection of the Ducal Palace and other civil edifices. Not finding Venetian antiquaries agreed, he set himself to examine not only every one of the older palaces, stone by stone, but every fragment

Stones
of Venice,
Preface.

British Quarterly Review, Vol. 13, p. 476 throughout the city which afforded any clue to the formation of its styles. This is the origin of the title of one of his most famous books. A reviewer, on the occasion of "The Stones of Venice" appearing, said it was a book full of novelty, and possessing the merit of clear and interesting, and even exciting treatment applied to architecture—a veritable "Book of Beauty," both in thought and illustration. Its influence has been far-reaching, for to its pages most men owe their knowledge of the true and the beautiful in Gothic art.

The following pictures are chosen from this work:—

PEACEFUL VENICE.

Stones of Venice, Vol. 1, Sec. 12

Venice may well call upon us to note with reverence that of all the towers which are still seen rising like a branchless forest from her islands there is but one whose office was other than that of summoning to prayer, and that one was a watch-tower only; from first to last, while the palaces of the other cities of Italy were lifted into sullen fortitudes of rampart, and fringed with forked battlements for the javelin and the bow, the sands of Venice never sank under the weight of a war tower, and her roof terraces were wreathed with Arabian imagery of golden globes suspended on the leaves of lilies.

ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

Vol. 2, ch. 4.

Through the seven-feet-wide alley, crowded with passengers, eating-houses, fruit-shops, and wine shops, painted by Mr. Ruskin with a minuteness worthy of Teniers; across the bridge, and through the Bocca di Piazzì into the shadow of the pillars we follow, "for between these pillars open a great light, and as we advance slowly the vast tower of St. Mark seems to lift itself visibly forth from the level field of chequered stones, and on each side the countless arches prolong themselves into ranged symmetry, as if the rugged and irregular houses had been struck back into sudden obedience and lovely order."

"And well may they fall back, for beyond these troops of ordered arches there rises a vision out of the earth, and all the great square seems to have opened for it in a kind of awe, that we may see it far away—a multitude of pillars and white domes, clustered into a long low pyramid of coloured light, a treasure-heap it seems, partly of gold, partly of opal and mother of pearl, hollowed beneath into five great vaulted porches, coiled with fair mosaics,

and beset with sculpture and alabaster, clear as amber, delicate as ivory—sculpture fantastic and involved, of palm leaves, and lilies, and grapes, and pomegranates, and birds clinging and fluttering among the branches, all turned together into an endless network of birds and plumes, and in the midst of it the solemn forms of angels, sceptred and robed to the feet, and leaning to each other across the gates, their figures indistinct among the gleaming of the golden ground, through the leaves beside them interrupted and dim, like the morning light as it fade back among the branches of Eden, when first the gates were angel-guarded, long ago.

Stones of
Venice.

"And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper, and porphyry, and deep green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marble, that half refuse, half yield, to the sunshine, Cleopatra-like, 'their bluest veins to kiss;' their capitals rich with interwoven tracery, rooted knots of herbage, and drifting leaves of acanthus and vine, and mystical signs, all beginning and ending in the cross; and above them, in the broad archivolts, a continuous chain of language and of life—angels, and the signs of Heaven, and the labours of men, each in its appointed season upon earth, and above them another range of glittering pinnacles, mixed with white arches edged with scarlet flowers—a confusion of delight, amidst which the breasts of the Greek horses are seen blazing in their breadth of golden strength, and the St. Mark's lion lifted on a blue field covered with stars, until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers of the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea nymphs had inlaid them in coral and amethyst."

THE MOST NOBLE CLIFF IN EUROPE.

The most noble cliff in Europe is the eastern front of Mount Cervin. . . It is a fragment of some size, a group of broken walls, one of them overhanging, crowned with a cornice, nodding some 150 feet over its massive flank 3,000 feet above its glacier base, and 14,000 above the sea—a wall truly of some majesty, at once the most precipitous and the strongest mass in the whole chain of the Alps, the Mount Cervin.

It has been falsely represented as a peak or tower. It is a vast ridged promontory, connected at its western root with the Dent d'Erin, and lift-

Vol. 1.
"The Wall
Veil,"
Sec. 1 to 5.

Stones of
Venice.

ing itself like a rearing horse with its face to the east. All the way along the flank of it, for half a day's journey on the Zmut glacier, the grim, black terrace of its foundations range almost without a break; and the clouds, when their day's work is done, and they are weary, lay themselves down on those foundation steps and rest till dawn, each with his leagues of grey mantle stretched along the grisly ledge, and the cornice of the mighty wall gleaming in the moonlight, 3,000 feet above.

The eastern face of the promontory is hewn down, as if by a single sweep of a sword, from the crest of it to the base; hewn concave and smooth, like the hollow of a wave; on each flank of it there is set a buttress, both of about equal height, their heads sloped out from the main wall about 700 feet below its summit. That on the north is the most important; it is as sharp as the frontal angle of a bastion, and sloped sheer away to the north-east, throwing out spur beyond spur, until it terminates in a long, low curve of russet precipice, at whose foot a great bay of the glacier of the Col de Cervin lies as level as a lake. The rock is hard beneath, but dispersed in thin courses of cloven shales, so finely laid that they look in places more like a heap of crushed autumn leaves than a rock; and the first sensation is one of unmitigated surprise, as if the mountain were upheld by miracle; but surprise becomes more intelligent reverence for the great Builder, when we find, in the middle of the mass of these dead leaves, a course of living rock of quartz as white as the snow that encircles it, and harder than a bed of steel.

It is only one of a thousand iron bands that knit the strength of the mighty mountain. Through the buttress and the wall alike, the course of its varied masonry are seen in their successive order, smooth and true as if laid by line and plummet, but of thickness and strength continually varying, and with silver cornices glittering along the edge of each, laid by the snowy winds, and carved by the sunshine—stainless ornaments of the eternal temple, by which “neither the hammer, nor the axe, nor any tool, was heard while it was in building.”

DISTANCE LENDS ENCHANTMENT TO THE VIEW.

Vol. 1.

“Treatment of Ornament,” or two against his light, the whole form of the Ch. 21, Sec. 18 tree, trunk, branches, and all, becomes one frost-

work of intensely brilliant silver, which is relieved against the clear sky like a burning fringe, for some distance on either side of the sun. Now, suppose that a person who had never seen pines were, for the first time in his life, to see them under this strange aspect, and, reasoning as to the means by which such effect could be produced, laboriously to approach the eastern ridge, how would he be amazed to find that the fiery spectres had been produced by trees, with swarthy and grey trunks, and dark green leaves! We, in our simplicity, if we had been required to produce such an appearance, should have built up trees of chased silver, with trunks of glass, and then be grievously amazed to find that at two miles off neither silver nor glass was any more visible; but Nature knew better, and prepared for her fairy work with the strong branches and dark leaves, in her own mysterious way.

Stones of
Venice,

ENGLISH AND FOREIGN VILLAGES.

A series of lectures, on art and its application to decoration and manufacture, was delivered in 1858-9 by Mr. Ruskin, and subsequently published under the title, "The Two Paths." The following bit of painting is to be found in that book:—

The
Two Paths.
Lecture 5.

In these days of swift locomotion I may doubtless assume that most of my audience have been somewhere out of England, have been in Scotland, or France, or Switzerland. Whatever may have been their impression on returning to their own country of its superiority or inferiority in this respect, they cannot but have felt one thing about it—the comfortable look of its towns and villages. Foreign towns are often very picturesque, very beautiful; but they never have quite the look of warmth self-sufficiency, and wholesome quiet, with which our villages nestle down among the green fields. If you will take the trouble to examine into the sources of this impression, you will find that by far the greater part of the warm and satisfactory appearance depends upon the rich scarlet colour of the bricks and tiles. It does not belong to the neat building—very neat building has an uncomfortable rather than a comfortable look—but it depends on the warm buildings; our villages are dressed in red tiles, as our old women are in red cloaks; and it does not matter how worn the cloaks, or how bent and bowed the roof may be, so long as there are no holes in either one or the other, and the sobered but inextinguishable colour still glows

The Two
Paths.

in the shadow of the hood, and burns among the green mosses of the gable. And what do you suppose dyes your tiles of cottage roof? You don't paint them. It is Nature who puts all that ovely vermillion into the clay for you; and all the lovely vermillion is this oxide of iron.

Think, therefore, what your streets and towns would become - ugly enough, indeed, already, some of them, but still more comfortable looking—if instead of the warm, brick-red, the houses became all pepper and salt colour. Fancy your country villages changing from the homely scarlet of theirs, which, in its sweet suggestion of laborious peace, is as honourable as the soldier's scarlet of laborious battle—suppose all those cottage roofs, I say, turned at once into the colour of unbaked clay, the colour of street gutters in rainy weather. That's what they would be, without iron.

There is, however, yet another effect of colour in our English country towns which, perhaps, you may not all yourselves have noticed, but for which you must take the word of a sketcher. They are not so often merely warm scarlet as they are warm purple;—a more beautiful colour still: and they owe this colour to a mingling with the vermillion of the deep greyish or purple hue of our fine Welsh slates on the more respectable roofs, made more blue still by the colour of intervening atmosphere. If you examine one of these Welsh slates, freshly broken, you will find its purple colour clear and vivid; and although never strikingly so after it has been long exposed to weather, it always retains enough of the tinge to give rich harmonies of distant purple, in opposition to the green of woods and fields. Whatever brightness or power there is in the hue is entirely owing to the oxide of iron. Without it the slates would either be pale stone colour, or cold grey, or black.

A SEA BOAT.

The Harbours of England. “The Harbours of England” has this beautiful picture of that “piece of enchantment”—a boat.

One object there is which I never pass without: the renewed wonder of childhood, and that is the bow of a boat. Not of a racing wherry, or revenue cutter, or clipper yacht, but the blunt head of a common bluff, undocked sea-boat, lying aside in its furrow of beach sand. The sum of navigation is in that. You may magnify it or decorate it as you will; you do not add to the wonder of it. Lengthen it into hatchet-like edge of iron, strengthen it with complex tracery of ribs of oak, carve it and gild it till a column

of light moves beneath it on the sea, you have The Harbours made no more of it than it was at first. That rude of England. simplicity of bent plank, that can breast its way through the death that is in the deep sea, has in it the soul of shipping. Beyond this, we may have more work, more men, more money; we cannot have more miracle. For there is first an infinite strangeness in the perfection of the thing as work of human hands. I know nothing else that man does which is perfect, but that. All his other doings have some signs of weakness, affectation, or ignorance in them. They are over-finished or under-finished; they do not quite answer to their end, or they show a mean vanity in answering it too well.

But the boat's bow is naively perfect; complete without an effort. The man who made it knew not that he was making anything beautiful as he bent its planks into those mysterious ever-changing curves. It grows under his hands into the image of a sea-shell, the seal, as it were, of the flowing of the great tides and streams of ocean stamped on its delicate rounding. He leaves it when all is done, without a boast. It is simple work, but it will keep out water, and every plank thenceforward is a fate, and has men's lives wreathed in the knots of it, as the cloth-yard shaft had their deaths in its plumes.

In that bow of the boat is the gift of another world. Without it what prison wall would be so strong as that white and wailing fringe of sea? What maimed creatures were we all chained to our rocks, Andromeda-like, or wandering by the endless shores, wasting our incommunicable strength, and pining in hopeless watch of unconquerable waves! The nails that fasten together the planks of the boat's bow are the rivets of the fellowship of the world. Their iron does more than draw lightning out of heaven, it leads love round the earth.

Then, also, it is wonderful on account of the enemy that it does battle with. To lift dead-weight, to overcome length of languid space, to multiply or systematize a given force; this we may see done by the bar, or beam, or wheel, without wonder. But to war with that living fury of waters, to bare its breast, moment after moment, against the unweared enmity of the ocean; the subtle, fitful, implacable smiting of the black waves, provoking each other on endlessly, all the infinite march of the Atlantic rolling on behind them to their help, and still to strike them back into a wreath of smoke and futile foam, and win its way against them, and keep its charge of life from them. Does any other soul-less thing do as much as this?

Governors and Goberned at King's Lynn.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Eleventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission included a lengthy account XI. App. III. of the records of the Borough of King's Lynn. The municipal books extend back to the 35th Edward I., chronicling the doings of the municipality. There are also valuable Charters. These include one granted in the 11th century by King Cnut to the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, a charter of concessions by King John to the Burgesses of Lynn, and three charters of Henry III., and seven of Edward I., which illustrate the social condition of the inhabitants. The entries in the Red Book, 35 Edward I. to 19 Richard II., and in the 14 Assembly or Congregation Books, extending from 2 Henry VI. to 2 Victoria, are full of interest to the student of history.

THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES.

Mr. Jeaffreson remarks that, whilst the Chamberlain's Rolls and Gild Rolls afford a large number of noteworthy particulars touching the social manners, commercial affairs, and political interests and vicissitudes of the burghers of Bishop's Lynn [the old name of the town] in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Charters, Letters-patent, and miscellaneous writings are especially instructive in what they tell us of the burghers' relations with their "Lord" the Bishop of Norwich. Here, too, we read of the town's internal dissensions, rivalries, and conflicts, when its people and laity were divided into three mutually suspicious and antagonistic classes—the Potentiores, Mediocres, and Inferiores—who throughout successive generations scowled at one another daily in their narrow lanes, or by the wide waterside, and nursed their animosities in petty quarrels, that were not the less bitter for being under ordinary circumstances bloodless.

THE GREAT MEN OF THE TOWN.

Bishop's Lenne would appear to have had in its early days a Council rivaling, in its high-handed conduct, the Council of Ten in the Venice of the Middle Ages. The beginnings of this autocratic body are traceable. The history of the town for some 300 years demonstrates how difficult it is to set aside a privileged class, when it has been allowed to establish itself. King John, on September 14th, in his sixth year, gave the burgesses of Lenne a charter of concessions. These included authority to punish crimes done within the borough, and the freeing of the burgesses from compulsory trial of causes by the then favourite mode of the duel. The Bishop of Norwich (the lord), and his Chapter, in Henry III.'s days, granted the burgesses a Charter to elect a Mayor, and this privilege was fully conceded in 52 Henry III. by another Royal Charter. In April 33 Edward I., yet another Charter gave authority to the burgesses to have their Gild Merchant, and to hold all lands and buildings pertaining to the guild.

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THE TYRANNY OF THE "MORE POWERFUL."

The Potentiores had thus early made their fellow-townsmen feel how grievous might be the burden when they were ruled by a dominant class. Two days after the issue of the last-named Charter the rulers had granted to them Letters Patent of Pardon and Release. The offences thus pardoned were these : they had assessed divers tallages on the community without their unanimous assent ; had oppressed the poor and but moderately endowed, taking from them great sums of money under colour of certain common fines ; and had appropriated to their own use the sums thus unjustly obtained, and not to the advantage of the community or the reparation of the town. They had also, in respect of merchantable things coming to the town, done contrary to the law, and had established and used in the town "certain corruptions contrary as well to common law as to law merchants." This is a picture of municipal wrongdoing which cannot easily be matched. It would, moreover, appear as though the granting of pardon only strengthened the mis-doers in their wickedness. In October, 3rd Edward II., a deed of composition between the then Bishop of Norwich and the Mayor and Community of the town of Lenn, provided that any person dwelling in the town a year should thenceforward no longer be classed as

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Historical "a straunge man ;" but should be free to enjoy Manuscripts "all profytes and skillful thynges of reson and Commission, helpynges that owe to be do of reson to the XI. App. III. comonalte of Lenn." The town rulers went on to make confession in these terms—plain English, though it was written in the year 1310—as to the treatment of the masses of those days :

"The Meyr also and comonalte before said have graunted that all tasks and tallyages unleeful and unresonaunce grevous which that by the grete men of the towne aforesaid upon the mene people and the poere to their oppression and hyndering ofte tyme they have be putte upon, and by grevous distress vying so vyonely of hem take with owte cause and depauperacion gretly of the towne from hens forward it shal no more be do whan profitte or nede aske it resonably and mesurably it should be do and have such contribucions redyly after the faculte myght and power of every man with owte any excepcion of any persone."

STRIFES AND DIVISIONS.

Preface XIII. An attempt was made in 14 Henry IV. to end the feuds and discords due to the division of the inhabitants into three orders. This failed, and made matters much worse, and especially so by rendering quarrels fiercer, and spites more rancorous. There was a consequent revocation of this Inspeximus of 25 November, 14 Henry IV. The Bishop next, as "lord" of the borough, came to the help of the masses. In 8 Henry V. he devised a remedy for the insolence of the jurats, and the passionate discontent of the poorer burgesses, and other inferior inhabitants of the town. This was done by establishing the annual election of a common council of "the twenty seven," in order that in respect to taxes for the sovereign, and talliajes for local charges and necessities, the populace of the nine constabularies should not be left completely at the mercy of the jurats, who were invariably drawn from the overbearing Potentiores. So affairs went on—an enlarged superior class, a middle class, the freemen "burgesses-at-large," and the inferiors, who were not burgesses—until April, 1660, when the demands of the burgesses-at-large were so strongly urged that privilege had to succumb, and henceforth the claim of all freemen to equal rights was admitted.

THE FRUITS OF PRIVILEGE."

Page 167 The good things enjoyed by the dominant section must have made election to the twenty-

four a most desirable object of a burgess's life, and worth paying for. We have proof of this in the record on 16th July, 33 Henry VI., of the election of William Pilton "to the number of 'the Twenty-four,' and he took time till the next assembly to bring *x li* into Hall, or otherwise to accept the burden." The Trinity Gild Rolls also contain evidence that the Potentiores, who were chiefs of the Gild, were privileged to use its resources for their own necessities, and to favour friends and adherents. Thus, at the feast of the Holy Trinity, 10 Henry IV., the moneys due by these townsfolk and the close Corporation amounted to a total £1,213. 18s. 7d.

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PARLIAMENT-MEN AND THEIR "WAGES."

King's Lynn records are especially valuable for the light they throw on the history of Parliamentary representation. In 11 Henry VI., John Waterden and Thomas Spicer were chosen to represent the borough at the national council. Two years and seven months later, Thomas Burgh and John Warryn were chosen. The mode of election is made plain, as is also its origin, in Mr. Jeafferson's report. In 7 Edward II. "the whole community," by which must be understood those who were "no straunge man," agreed in an Assembly that 26 of their number named should elect 12 of the more sufficient of the town to make provision, in respect to all business touching the community in the King's Parliament and elsewhere. The 26 actually chose 13 who had warranty under the common seal, that whatever they should determine should be deemed good, and be adhered to. The record of the whole community's concurrence in, and assent to, this arrangement is, says Mr. Jeaffeson, a noteworthy feature of the certificate, as it affords at least presumptive evidence that in the earlier time of Edward II. the members of the Municipal Assembly did not presume to act definitively in so important a matter, without the consent of the rest of the community. Very soon, however, the records show the Assembly of 24 men re-established the old power of the Potentiores. It became thenceforward the practice of the Assembly to appoint from itself a committee of twelve for choosing burgesses of Parliament; and in process of time, certainly in the 17th century, the non-privileged, the Mediocres of the 15th century, were slightly designated "Burgesses-at-large." In 14 Henry VIII. the committee of twelve had, however, to share its

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Historical Manuscripts Commission. authority, and thenceforth the election was made by the Burgesses and the Corporation, viz., those of the burgesses who had voice as rulers of the borough, either as members of "the twenty-four" [the jurats of an earlier time], or as members of "the twenty-seven." For the Protector Cromwell's Parliaments of 1642 and 1647, all the freemen "had their voyces in the choice" of the two representatives. But at subsequent elections, the old order—"this house's auncient custome,"—was re-established, and so continued till the year 1660. In 1658 the Assembly put off the burgesses-at-large, and their persistent demand to have a voice in the election, by reading to them "for theire satisfaction" the precept for election. Satisfaction, however, was either not given, or was speedily forgotten, for in April, 1660, the demand was so strongly urged that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council decided to waive for once, and without prejudice to them and their successors in the future, the right of keeping elections of members of Parliament to themselves "for the prevent satisfaction of the people." The claim then admitted was upheld till the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 introduced a more radical change.

Another matter noteworthy in the valuable records is this: that representatives, as was the old custom, were chosen only for the session then to be held, and that on their return to the borough the members had to declare the Acts of Parliament to the Assembly.

Page 167 The records show the number of days which had been taken up by the burgesses on public business, and the payment made to them as wages. Changing with the gradual depreciation of current money, the wages paid to burgesses of Parliament for Lynn rose from 2s. (20 Henry VI.) to 5s. a day, to each burgess, for each day spent either in attendance on the Parliament or in travelling to and fro between the Parliament and the borough; and in a few cases the municipal allowance was as much as 10s. a day. The last entry of payment of 10s. a day wages was to Mr. Matthew Clark and Mr. John Wallis, aldermen, elected 15th Dec., 1620. The record of the election on 22nd January, 1628, of John Wallis and William Doughty, aldermen, to be burgesses of Parliament, contains a memorandum of agreement "that the severall wages of those that shall be elected burgesses of the borough shall be fyve shillings a piece for every day." The last payment of the sort which would appear to be recorded was to Mr. Perceval and Mr. Toll, aldermen, the order

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of payment of 5s. a day a man being made on 24th November, 1643. With the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1649 came a change in this as in other public matters.

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ELECTION OF EARL SALISBURY AS M.P.

One of the most curious entries in the Assembly books is that which records the acceptance of the position of a burgess of Parliament by the Earl of Salisbury. In February, 1649, the House of Lords had been abolished, as part of the proceedings, which established the Commonwealth. Mr. Alderman Thomas Toll, one of the Lynn members, had been active as a Commissioner, with Miles Corbett and Valentyne Walton, in support of the Parliamentary party; but the report does not contain any reference which enables the reader to know exactly how Lynn stood in relation to the Rump Parliament which controlled affairs in February, 1649. As there were only 50 left of the 500 elected in 1640, it may be assumed that Mr. Toll alone remained faithful to his duties. At any rate, Lynn must have been one of the boroughs to which a writ was sent by the Rump, requiring the return of another member, for on 8th September, 1649, the Assembly ordered "That a letter be written to the Right Honble the Earle of Salisbury by the Mayor from his house, to give him knowledge that this house hath granted him the freedom of this burgh, and that the cominality of this burgh hath elected him a burgess of the Parliament of England." One of the reforms which the Rump Parliament had made was the abolition of privilege in elections, and this choice of Lord Salisbury was accordingly made by "the cominality" of the town, and not as had been the custom by the congregation. Just then the Commons was discussing the plan of Parliamentary Reform put forward by the Council of Officers, and the commonalty of Lynn naturally enough wanted to have its part in what promised to be a good measure. It provided for a dissolution in the spring of the year 1650; the assembling every two years of a new Parliament of 400 members, elected by all householders rateable to the poor; a re-distribution of seats so as to give representation to all places of importance; and the exclusion from election of paid military officers and civil officials. Cromwell was then in Ireland, and Parliament accordingly showed less and less inclination to dissolve itself. The situation was thus one requiring a man of courage

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Green's Short History of England. Ch. 8, Sec. 9.

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and faith in the people. Lord Salisbury's reply shows him worthy of the trust reposed in him. The record reads thus :—
 “ September, 1649. Copy of the Earl of Salisbury's reply to the letter sent him in accordance with the last given order. Gentlemen,—
 As the precedent you have made in choosing of me to be your burgess is unusuall (I believe) if not the first amongst you, so doth it lay the greater obligac'on uppon me, neither is that favour a little heightened by my being so much a stranger to you as indeede I am. As you have heere an open and free acknowledgment from me of your kinde and good affections in so unanimous an elecc'on of me to serve you in Parliament, as your letter doth expresse, so cannot they merit, or you expect more thanks than I do really retorne unto you for them ; you have been pleased cheerfully (as you say) to conferre your freedome upon me, I shall ever be as zealous in maintaining of yours. And as I am not ignorant of the great trust you have placed in me, so shall you never be deceived in it. For the addresses you are to make unto me (as your occasion shall require), they shall not be so many as cheerfully received. And whatsoever may concerne the publique good or yours, shall ever be pursued with all faithfulness and diligence by him that is

“ Your very loving friend,

“ SALISBURY.

“ Hatfield, 15th September, 1649.”

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This Parliament sat till April 20th, 1653, when a Bill relating to the constitution of a new Parliament, in a form which had been privately agreed upon, being about to be passed, and the House instantly dissolving, General Cromwell met this stratagem by clearing the House, and putting the keys in his pocket. The popular feeling against the Protector's Government had become strong by the time of the election of Cromwell's Third Parliament, and accordingly we find it recorded that on 11th August, 1656, the Assembly itself again elected General John Desbrow and Major-General Philip Skipper were returned, and notice of the same was sent to the High Sheriff of the County—an act in itself which speaks of the changed order of things then existing.

PUT HIM IN HIS OWN STOCKS.

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Authority to punish offenders was a privilege most jealously guarded in the middle ages. Witness this entry in the Assembly Book under

date 20th October, 1487:—"Also yt is accorded wher as ther is a new pare of stokkes made by the meanes of one Robert Mathew, smyth, sette aforn the door of the said Robert, yt is accordyd XI. App. III. that if the said Robert wyll not obey to the ordenannces of this towne that my mayster the mayr that now is shalle do sette away the said stokkes, and set hem in the markett place, and to sette the said Robert in the said stokkes in the market place till he wyll be obeyent."

PAWNBROKERS TO THE KING.

We get a clear light on the condition of the Government, in the early days of the reign of Henry VI., when we read of the need to put in pledge the royal ornaments. The Assembly Book under date 14th July, 3 Henry VI., records that the Mayor, Sheriff, and community of Norwich had lent for the King's use 580 marks, the Mayor and community of Lynn 400 marks, William Westacre, forty pounds, William Walton, twenty pounds, and Nicholas Somerset, ten marks. The security for the total of 1,000 marks was "a certain great garnished circlet of gold." The pledge was made by a Privy Seal writ, to which the Archbishop of Canterbury and John Wakering, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, were parties; and the time of redemption was limited to one year, half a year, and a month, at the close of which period, in default of repayment of the loan, the lenders might sell the security. The sequel, so far as Lynn was concerned, was that on 17th November, 6th Henry VI., the Assembly was asked if they would agree that the burgesses of Parliament should receive of the executors of the late King one hundred pounds for the pledged circlet "because they were not able to get more." This was agreed to by the whole Congregation, and on the following 16th April the amount was received for the use of the community. A loan of £333. 16s. 8d. made to Henry IV., in the fourth year of his reign, had been more satisfactory, the sum having been repaid a month before the pledging of the circlet of gold above mentioned.

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STANDING ON HIS DIGNITY.

The Mayor in 8 Edward II., being one of the Potentiores, could not be expected to endure criticism. Hence the record is that John de Grimsby was fined half a mark for abusing the Mayor in speech. He was judged by his peers and the community at Gild Hall, and was bound over for the payment of 100s. as often as he should do trespass to the Mayor, bailiff, or com-

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munity. This is only a sample of numerous similar records.

LOOKING AFTER THE PENCE.

In 9 Edward III. it is recorded that on Friday next following the Feast of All Saints, Stephen de Kent came into the Gild Hall, and acknowledged himself guilty of trespass against the Mayor and the community, in selling wine at eightpence a gallon when all taverns were selling it at sixpence a gallon; and that the community pardoned him the same trespass on his engaging to give the community a tun of wine should he ever offend again in like manner.

TOLLS AND TITHES IN THE 15TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.

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A grant by the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral to the Mayor and Burgesses of King's Lynn, leased for 21 years, from May 1st, 1626, the Rectory of St. Margaret's and all glebe lands, tenths, tythes, oblations at a yearly rental of £20. 2s. The value of the yearly lete, the two courts called the Steward's Hall Court and the Tolbooth Court, and "all such fairs and markets, waifs, and strays appertaining to the Bishop and also his liberty and franchises of return of all the King's writs, &c.", was leased in 19 Henry VIII. to the town for 30 years, at a yearly grant of 104s.

EXPENSIVE GUESTS.

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"Isabell, the old Queen," was evidently a frequent source of expense to the town during her long residence at Castle Rising. When she went on a pilgrimage to "Our Lady of Walsingham," 5-6 Edward III., the town was at the expense of 20s. for bread, £4. 4s. 4d. for a cask of wine, and 40s. for oats. Three years after, 36s. 6d. was given for the "expenses of the King and Queen when they crossed over the water;" while for Queen Isabell, by way of tribute and offerings, the sums spent were 68s. for flesh-meats, 20s. for lampreys, 8s. 10d. for wine. Similar payments were made for bread sent to the Bishop, and to Lords de Multone, and de Morele; and for oats, wine, lampreys, and flesh-meats, to the Bishop and other mighty folk. "Sturjon" and lampreys, herouns, Rhine wine, gloves, falcons, are also set down as gifts. When Edward III. came to Rising, in the 17-18 year of his reign, the bill was a heavy one: £9. 18s. 10d. for flesh-meats sent to the Lady Isabell, the Queen; £4. 16s. 1d. in

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offerings sent to the servants of the Lord King at Thorndenes, at the first coming of the Lord King to Rysyng; 100s. sent to the King at the same time; 6s. 8d. to his doorkeeper, 3s. 7d. for the charges of the Lord King's palfrey, 3s. for gloves for the Lord King's falcon, and so on, in many a detail, not only on this occasion, but on other subsequent visits.

Cardinal Wolsey visiting the town on 20th August, 12 Henry VIII., "with the Bysshope of Ely and a Bysshope of Irland, with many knyghtes and esquyers was met on the Caunsy beyond Gaywood brigge with the Mayre and Commons of Lenn, which lord Cardynall was presented at Hulyns Place" with 20 dozen bread, 6 soys of ale, 15 barrels of beer, a tun and 12 gallons of wine, 2 oxen, 20 sheep, 10 cygnets, 12 capons, 3 "botores," 3 "shovelerdes," 13 plovers, 8 pike, and 3 tench. Fortunately for the town-folk the visit only lasted from Monday to Wednesday, when "the forseyd Mayre and commoinaltye brought the sayd Lord Cardynall beyound Hardewyk Churche, and ther departed from the sayd Lerd Cardynall, with gret laude and thankes.—Summa Totalis *xxii li.*, vi. d., payd for the charges of the seyd present, with rewards even to diverse officers of the seyd Lord Cardinall."

Queen Elizabeth on her visit to Norfolk received a present of one hundred Angellz from Mr. Mayor, aldermen, and comen Councell, "to the intent to sheawe there dutiful obedience and good wills."

REGULATING TRADERS.

On 30th October, 5 Edward IV., "all the congregacion ordained that no man within the Towne of Lenne dwellyng from hens furthward shall kepe, nor favour, nor mayteyne eny common Tapster with in his house as servaunt or tenaunt, whiche is knownen for a misgoverned woman, upon peyne of *xls.* als often as ony persone is so founden defectif . . . and also that all sycche comen Tapstres be avoided out of this Towne by Cristemesse even next comyng by proclamacion thereof to be made."

Another ordinance of the same date provided that "non bocher, taillour, shoemaker, patayn maker, nor non other artificer with in this towne except wyntaverners and comen cokes selle no maners fleshe nor other vitall, nor non other ware upon the Sonday to non manere persone of this towne nor straunger;" penalty for each offence 6s. 8d.. Exception was made for the time of harvest and reasonable cases of need.

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Historical Manuscripts by an ordinance dated July 16th, 27 Henry VI. Commission. Any new-come craftsman if "he will be no XI. App. III. burgess" had to pay 40d., "for his newe settynge uppe," to the Mayre, 40d. to the Commons, and 40d. to the headsman of the craft in aid of the Corpus Christi procession : with a reduced rate if he will be a burgess. The penalty provided for mis-cutting or mis-shaping the cloth given in charge of the tradesman was the giving of full and ample amends to the party aggrieved.

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PLAYERS AND MINSTRELS.

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There are various entries in the Corporation records which show that the Governors strictly regulated the amusements of the governed. In the Assembly Book, under date 12th October, 9 Henry VI., we have this entry :—"And the congregation also granted that the three players [*histriones*] shall serve the community this year for twenty-one shillings and their clothing, to be had of every house." The next entry respecting this company of players shows that they were also to be the town waits from November 1st to February 2nd ;—3 November, 11 Henry 6th. Ande there was exhibited a bill on behalf of the players [*histronium*], to the effect that they desired an increase of their reward: And it was granted that each of those two should have for his fee twenty shillings and his clothing for that year, which grant shall last for that year to each; And they shall go through the town with their instruments from the feast of All Saints to the following feast of Purification.

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In Queen Elizabeth's day the Assembly would appear to have looked with other eyes on "the poor players," "patent" rights having mastered municipal. An entry under date 14th October, 1618, reads thus :—"At this day itt was agreed that a letter shall be written by Mr. Maior and the aldermen to the Lo. Chancelor of England, the townes High Steward, to intreat that he will be a meanes that all the compaynes of players which yearly resort to this towne may nott be suffered here to use playing, notwithstandinge their grantes and patentees made unto them."

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A few years later, on 31st March, 1633, soon after Charles I. had come to the throne, the Assembly records :—At this daite [it] was apoynted that Fiftie-one shillinges and eightpence should be paied to Mr. Mayor by the Chamberlaine for a grattute sent my Lord Cheefe Justice Richardson : also fortie shillinges to send away his Majestie's Plaiours of his private chamber in Yorke without actinge here.

The minstrels and players of great folk were not always scorned thus in Bishop's Lenne. In 11-12 Edward III. the Chamberlain records 5s. 2d. given for passing a certain minstrel of Sir William de Monte Acuto towards parts beyond sea; in 13-14, Edward III., 12d., given to the Earl of Suffolk's minstrel, and 12d. given to Lord de Bardolf's minstrel; in 20-21 Edward III. numerous gifts to messengers and minstrels of the King: in 27-28 Edward III. 36s. 7d. given to divers of the King's messengers and runners, and divers heralds and minstrels of the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and of divers other Lords; in 29-30 Edward III. 2s. given for a sword, bought and given to a certain minstrel of Philippa, Queen of England, viz., to a certain herald. These are costly evidences that the towns-folk deemed it advisable to stand well with the Dowager Queen, who lived at Castle Rising from 1331 to 1358. In two successive years, 43-45 Edward III., the town would seem to have been a happy hunting ground for minstrels, King Edward III. frequently resorting to Castle Rising. The minstrels came as servants of the King, the Earl of Hereford, Lord Spencer, the Earl of Orford, the King of Scotland (David Bruce), the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Morlee, Duke of Lancaster, Sir Robert de Morlee, Sir Walter Manne, and Sir Robert Mortimer. The minstrels got 20d. from the municipality for a Christmas Day entertainment, and 2s. on the first day of May, when a player [*ludenti*.] also received 3s. The Assembly returned to more serious courses after the Peasants' rising had shown that there were other things to be thought of than the buying favour of the nobles. In the 8-9 Richard III. an interlude was played on Corpus Christi day, payment to the players 3s. 4d., which sum was also the Mayor's gift for playing the interlude of St. Thomas the Martyr. Nor was the cost of the music and play all that the rate-payers had to meet, for in 1-2 Edward IV. we have an entry of 2s. paid for two flagons of red wine, spent in the house of Arnulph Tixonye by the Mayor and the most of his brethren, being there to see a certain play at the Feast of Corpus Christi.

SERVING TABLES.

A custom seems long to have prevailed in the borough of providing the Holy Bread Loaf for the use of the clergy, or for their distribution to the poor: On 6 October 6 Henry VI., the

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congregation determined that each and all tenements leased to farm for 20s. per annum and more, and inhabited shall give "panem benedictum cum candela cerea." The law yet applicable to tithe was then the custom, for this order provided that when the chief tenement had different tenements annexed under one roof, pertaining to and not separate from the chief tenement, the principal tenement should give "panem benedictum" for all the tenements pertaining to it. Refusal to contribute was met by "the common serjeant-at-mace, or other officer at the mandate of the Mayor or his lieutenant for the time being," levying distress on goods and chattels, such seizure carrying the further penalty, of a fine of 20s., for the use of the community. In the 3rd Edward VI., when the Reformation had been established, the Assembly "agreed and establyshed by Mr. Mayor, Aldermen, and Comen Counsaill next comyng shall in recompens of the wyne and breade for the communyon, and for the offering offer and give unto the curat of the church of St. Margaret viiid. for all iii. churches, and that every inhabitant of this town oon after an othr every Sondaye shall doo likewise, as the turn shall come abowt in maner and forme as heretofore the Holy Bredde Loffe hath been yevyn, provided alway that iff the hows wherin such inhabituant doth inhabit and dwell be not of the value of xx*s.* yerely, or soo leaten thatthen ii. or iii. of the next shalbe joyned unto hym, and to paie porcion lyke towardes the charges of the Communyon and offering aforesaid."

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THE GUILDS.

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The borough of Lenn had, as already said, its Gild-Merchant, with charter rights. This was, as its name implies, a trades-guild, neither wholly social, nor the gild of a craft. Such an association was the more necessary, because the port of Lenn had extensive dealings not only with other English ports, but, as the borough records show, with the Hanse merchants wherever they were settled, even trading so far as Norway, in whose second port, Bergen, these Hanse traders were then a power. Reference has been made to this gild as having been largely under the control, and as used for the benefit of the Potentiares. The social guilds existing in the town were much more wide-spreading in their influence, and, apparently, embraced all classes. Just 40 years after the "Great Pestilence," in the autumn of the year 1388, 12 Richard II., Parliament sat 39 days at Cambridge. During

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Preface XIV.

that time it passed "sixteen good Acts," touching, among other things, the condition of the labourers, and regulating beggars and common nuisances. This same Parliament ordered that two writs should be sent to every Sheriff in England, the one requiring the return of the foundation statutes and property of all Guilds and Brotherhoods, the other a return of the charters or Letters Patent of Mysteries and Crafts. Of the returns which were sent to the King's Chancery, and which are now to be inspected in the Public Record Office, some are written in English; and of these 12 were sent from Norwich, 26 from Lenn, 5 from Wiggenhall, 1 from East Winch, and 2 from Oxburgh. These, with 3 from London Social Gilds, were copied by Mr. Toulmin Smith, and have been, with other gild ordinances, published by the Early English Text Society.

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Guilds.

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THE NAME GILD.

In the introduction to the volume, written by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith after the death of her father, we have the following explanation of the term which we now spell "guild":—

"The word 'gild' (with its varieties *gield*, Preface XIX. *geld*, *gyld*) is of Saxon origin, and meant 'a rateable payment' [as is evident from the use of the word in the Oxburgh St. John Baptist Gild return:—"And if any brother or sistre falle at mischief, he sal hauen gilde, honereday a farthyng, and on Sunday a halfpeny be yeire, wille that he his at meschief."] . . . How and when the word became applied to the brotherhoods or societies is not found in so many words; but that the brotherhoods, by their inherent power of making what internal rules they pleased, should be accustomed to gather a regular rate, or "gilde" from each one of their number for their common expenses, till every man was known as "gegylda," as having paid to this or that gild, seems a natural and certain explanation. The early use of the word "gild-ship" implies this the more strongly. Meanwhile, 'pilde' did not lose its old sense, and we find the two meanings—"geld" a payment (with a secondary use, money), and "gild," a brotherhood—running side by side down to much later times, the relics of the former of the two still existing in our modern "yield."

The principles which gave the gilds life were mutual self-help, and a manly independence which could think of the rights of others. These principles were seen in the commune, no less than in the later social gild.

THE SOCIAL GILDS AT LENN.

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Coming now to the Lenn Gilds, we find, from the old returns, made exactly five hundred years ago, by the officials, that there were three in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, two of St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Edmund, and one each to the honour of St. Anthony, St. Leonard, St. Peter, St. Mary, St. Katherine, St. George the Martyr, St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Holy Cross, Candlemas, and the Conception; while there were two in honour of the Purification. The gild of young scholars needs must honour the Norwich boy-martyr, St. William; while the Shipman's Gild was in honour of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. These gilds were founded between the years 1318 and 1383, the earliest being that in honour of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; the next oldest St. Peter, 1329. They had much in common, and there was not a little which corresponds with our modern friendly societies. Every one of them elected its officers, Alderman, Dean, Stewards, and Clerk; each gild had a feast day, sometimes termed a general day, and also two or three other fixed times of meeting, termed "mornspeches," "morwespeches," and similar forms of a word which dates back to Early English times. The Gild of St. Katherine, on its part, had its "four dayes of spekyngges tokedere for here commune profyt." There was a specified fine to be paid by members who, being in town, did not attend the "morwespeche;" this fine being either a certain quantity of wax (for altar lights) or money. New members paid house fees, viz., a certain sum to the Alderman, to the Dean, to the Clerk, and to the wax; or else, and sometimes in addition to these, a sum to the fraternity, which amounted to from 3s. to 5s. The brethren and sisters were bound to attend at the burial of a deceased member, with "waxe brenned" in candles and torches at the cost of the gild, and a money gift from every individual member for masses. Members were summoned by the Dean of the Gild, or by the bellman. There were also regulations for the help of members who had suffered loss by sea, or any other mishap; for the visiting and comforting of any in prison; and for the expulsion of rebels against the law of holy church. Other regulations related to the members appearing at the mass "faire and honestliche arrayde;" while in some gilds it was provided that

there shall be a "hodde of lyuere of the gyldē," to be worn at every meeting, and to be paid for. In others it was provided that at the meetings "no man come beforne ye Alderman and ye Gilde breyeren and sisteren in time of drynk, in tabard, in cloke, ne barleges, ne barfote." Betraying the secrets of the Gild to any strange man or woman was punishable, as was also "maliouseliche or dispisantliche" lying on brother or sister, disobeying the Alderman, grumbling, wrongdoing, or suing a brother at law without the consent of the Alderman and Gild. The Alderman and Gild had also authority to prevent members giving a pledge or becoming surety. Perhaps the most instructive of the regulations are those which relate to the ale drinking, strict provision being made regarding the drink, the gild-house apparently being a sort of club-house for entertainment. Any member going to the ale chamber without leave of men of office was fined 2d.; any one making a noise "in tyme of drynk or, in tyme of mornspeche, and wil nouth be stille," the Aldermaas shall make him do penance by holding the rod or fine him. The Alderman of some gilds was allowed two gallons at gild meetings, at others he got a gallon of ale and a white loaf, while the Stewards were allowed a pottle, and the Dean and Clerk were also cared for. No member was to fail to pass the ale-cup. . . "Als yt no broyer ne no syster be so hardy, in tyme of drynck, to slepe, ne lete ye cuppe stonde be hym, up peyne of jd to ye lythe," and no member was to remain in the house when "ye Alderman rysythe, but men of offyse." The Young Scholars' Gild was founded to maintain an image of St. William, with a light, in St. Margaret's Church, for the cost of burial of members, and for the receiving of gifts. Its return ends with the expression of the hope that more gifts would be made, the members being children of young age, "hoping in time to come to have been increased in help and counsel of wise men." None of these social gilds were blessed with an abundance of wealth, the oldest having only 8ls. as its accumulated capital.

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POOR AND IMPOTENT FOLK.
Leprosy must have been as grevious at Lenn as it was in towns more remote from the purifying sea-breezes. We find in a will made in May, 1352, by "Margaret, formerly the wife of John XI. App. III. Frenhge, of good memory," and proclaimed by John Waryn, Mayor, after having been proved

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Historical Manuscripts Commission. XI. App. III. Page 238 before the Bishop of Norwich, in June, 8 Richard II., a gift of "12d. to the poor people of the Hospice of St. John of Lenn, also 12d. to the hospice of lepers of St. Mary Magdalen, on the calcetum [causeway], also 12d. to the lepers of Herdwike, and 12d. to the lepers of Cougate." The will of John de Grantham, Burgess of Lenn, made in 1384, contains a gift of 3s. 4d. "to each house of the seven houses of lepers about Lenn."

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In March, 7 Henry VI., there appeared before the congregation "the nominated lepers John Selander, T. Taylour, and Edmund Mundy, that their infirmity might be proved by discreet persons having knowledge in this respect."

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When the religious houses had been dissolved, and the care of the poor fell to the municipality, the Assembly made an order on the 7th of October, 1 Edward VI., and the record reads as follows :—"Badges for pore and impotent persons. This daye yt is agreed that there shal be badges made of leade and engraved with a roose and an E and an R of the sydes, for suche aged and impotent persons as ben within this town, and ben not able to labour for their livyng, to beare, wherby they may be knownen from other, and that thees badges shall not be delyvered to any of the sayd impotent persons butt by the advice of Mr. Maior and of the Alderman and constable of every ward, wherein they shal be admytted."

TIMES OF SICKNESS.

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The good folk of Lenn had other troubles more nearly affecting them, in the year 1585, than the then threatened invasion by Spain. The Assembly humbly resolved on May 24th that "forasmuche as it hath pleased Almighty God to begynn to send us his visitacion with sicknes amongst us, and that dogges and cattes are thought verie unfitt to be suffered in this tyme," every inhabitant shall forthwith take "all their dogges and yappes and hang them or kill them, and carrie them unto some out-place, and burye them for breadinge of a greater annoyance." The only dogs which might be spared were "dogges of accompte," that were kept kennelled or tied up or "not to come abrode unlesse the same be led in a lease" [leash]. Cats were also to be killed "for that they be very daungerous to infecte sound and cleare houses."

CORPORATE JOLLITY.

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The Chamberlain's accounts contain curious entries of payments made for Mayors' entertainments. In 12-13 Richard II. the sum of 16s. 8d.

was paid "to the cook of the Bishop of Norwich and other servants, when the same Bishop dined with our Mayor on what day the said Lord of Commission. Prucia ought to have dined with him, but came XI. App. III. not to dinner because he left the town for London before dinner." In 5-6 Edward IV. paid 20d. "for five potells of red wine," and 20d. "for five quarts of sweet wine, spent at Geiwode when the Mayor assumed his charge for this year;" also 8d. "for a potell of sweet wine when the Mayor and divers of his brethren went round the town to see the tenements of the community."

A 14TH CENTURY MESSENGER.

The Chamberlains of the town of Lenn in 1-2 Edward III., viz., Roger de Buttele, Thomas de Melchburne, William de Hautboys, and Richard de Jakesham, had to meet the cost of enrolling and securing a certain charter, and to that end sent an agent to the Bishop, the town's "lord." The entries, in addition to the cost of feasting, counsels' fees, and messengers to York, include a payment of 21d. "for a hakenye" for the use of Thomas, the Clerk, when he sought the Bishop at York by the advice of Walter of Norwich.

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WEAR AND TEAR OF TIME.

The Mayor and Burgesses of the town appealed, in the year 1534, to King Henry VIII., as his "obedient subjects," to compel the rebuilding of "dyvers and many mesuages and tenementes of olde tyme buylded," in the town, which had been "a longe tyme yn greate decaye and desolacion, whereby the fludde and rage of the see," in times of tempest, "dothe freate and mervaylosly weare in dyvers places," to the damage of the town and of the property of adjoining owners. Parliament made very speedy work of the conservators of "ruyne and desolacyon." They were allowed a term of one year to "reedyfie" the houses, or, at their option, to enclose the ground "wythe walles of morter and stone." In default "the Chief Lordes" might re-enter on the fee and do the work; and failing these within a year, the Mayor and Community had a two years' term of grace. Only when these had all in their turn failed to comply with the Act might the first owners come to their own again. Doubtless the threat sufficed. As the Act immediately preceding this in the Statute Book was intended to compel "the reedifieng of voyde groundes in the Citie of Norwich," void by "ynfortunate chance of fyre . . about xxvj yeres past," which burned down a great number of houses, this form of legislation was evidently then in favour. In

Statutes of
the Realm.
26 Henry VIII.
c. 9.

26 Henry VIII.
c. 8.

26 Henry VIII. the Norwich case, however, the cause of the compulsion was that the "desolate and vacant groundes, many of theym nigher adjoyninge to the highe stretes," were "replenished with moche unclennes and filthe, to the greate annusance of the said inhabitantis, and other the Kynge's subjects passinge by the same."

THE LAST OF LYNNE BYSHOP.

27 Henry VIII. The Act just quoted was almost the last of c. 45. "Lynne Byshop," as the Statute termed it. Little more than a year elapsed ere King Henry VIII., in nominating William, Abbot of St. Benett's, "a man bothe of excellent lernyng and knowledge in Holy Scripture," to the Bishopric of Norwich, agreed, as part of the consideration to be paid—of course, "for the ernest settyngh fourth of the good effects and proceedynges that may grow and encrease by the good execucion of the Kynge's godly purpose in the premisses"—that the King should henceforth hold numerous manors of the Bishopric, including "Lynne Episcopi, otherwise called Bysshoppes Lynne." Gaywood, North Elmham, and Thorpe were also included in the 15 Norfolk manors, which were in this ready way sacrificed to Royal greed. The Bishop, on his part, received for the use of himself and his successors "the Palyce called the Bishoppes Palyce, with all and singular the appurtenances sett and being in or by the Priorye of Christchurche in Norwiche," besides the dignities, prerogatives, profits, and pre-eminences hitherto enjoyed by Bishops of Norwich in the Priory; the Monastery of St. Benett's, and the Priory of Hickling, paying for the latter as rental to the Crown £38. 6s. 8d. Moreover, the Bishop and his successors in the same Bishopric were named Abbots of the Monastery of St. Benett with all the dignity of Abbacy "unyted, incorporated, and knytte to the see of the said Bishopprie of Norwiche." The Bishop was further required to ordain and make from time to time a monk of the Monastery to be prior, and to find and keep continually in the Monastery at least twelve monks over and besides the Prior. Three years later, in 1539, all the Abbeys were formally dissolved, and the special dignity of Abbot of St Benett would appear to have lapsed, as undoubtedly did the condition to maintain a prior and twelve monks. The one memorial of the time which the Borough of Lynn has retained is the addition of the word King's in lieu of Bishop's, to the name of the town, which has ever since been known as King's Lynn or Lynn Regis.

Markets and Market Tolls.



A Royal Commission was appointed in 1887 to inquire into the question of Market Rights and Tolls, with a special view to determine how, and under what authority, market rights are exercised. Such a Commission commands the most complete knowledge of facts. The evidence it takes has thus, embedded in a mass of matter that has only a temporary interest, a good many bits of information of lasting worth. A few such items, taken from the evidence, are here collected from the "First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls," (Vol. 2,) published in October, 1888. Some notice may, however, be also desirable of

Report on
Market Rights
and Tolls.
Vol. 2.
Reference.

OUR EARLIEST MARKETS.

To get a truthful view of any great fact in British history we have to ask how, and when it had its origin. We find that, as is the case with most of our institutions, markets and market tolls trace back to a remote time. Sir Henry Ellis, in the General Introduction to Domesday, which prefaces the edition completed at the cost of the nation, and published in the year 1816, gathers into one chapter all the references to markets and tolls scattered up and down the great work. He says, on the authority of Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, that the date of the establishment of public markets in England is unknown, but "the constantly-increasing severity of the Anglo-Saxon laws against theft probably multiplied their number. To escape this severity it was necessary that every man, and especially a dealer in goods, should be always able to prove his legal property in what he possessed." Laws of Ina, of Athelstan (A.D. 925-940), and Canute, anticipated those of the Conqueror. Athelstan's enactment, that no one should make a purchase beyond twenty pennies "extra portem," but that such bargains should take place within the town in the presence of the Port-reeve, or

Dr. Wilkins'
Leg. Anglo-
Saxon.
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Introduction some other person of veracity, or of the reves to Domesday in the fole-mote, is especially worthy of remembrance in considering the purpose of market tolls.

Domesday mentions the towns or places which had markets, and the money value of the tolls. Several of the places are yet important towns, as Basingstoke, Bradford [in Wilts], Taunton, Frome, Launceston, Bodmin, Liskeard [Liscarret], Luton [Loitone], Spalding [Spallinge], Beccles, Sudbury [Sutberie], Eye [Eia], Haverhill [Haverhella]. Other market centres are no longer entitled to the honour ; and the places at which they were held are little more than a name. Among such we must rank Dunham and Colney, in Norfolk, the former a small village, and the latter a tiny hamlet near Norwich, where is now an important market.

THE USES OF MARKETS.

Market Rights Mr. G. Prior Goldney, the City [of London] Report. Remembrancer, supports the view that the sale Vol. 2, p. 19 of goods in "maket ouvert" was not only instituted to meet the demands of buyers, and the convenience of rural producers, but to ensure to the purchaser a substantial right to what he bought :—In old times there was very considerable benefit to be derived from markets, and that was that, whereas in private sale of goods the vendor could give no better title to the goods than he himself possessed, and therefore the purchaser would by law be compelled to restore them to anyone who could prove a better title, by sale in what was called "market ouvert," the purchaser acquired a perfectly good title—of course direct frauds being absent. The exception to prove the rule is that a title to horses may not thus be acquired. Moreover, in the city of London "every day is a market ouvert, the city itself is a market ouvert, and all the shops in the city are market ouverts for the goods which each shopkeeper purposes to deal in."

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Mr. Goldney further holds that London had from Saxon times, and before then, been a general resort for merchants trading in gross ; and certainly from the Plantagenet times London markets were as much wholesale markets as the circumstances of the times would permit of their being, and thus governed the prices for all the country. Quoting Sir Thomas Nelson, the late city solicitor, Mr. Goldney held this assertion as especially applicable to London life, "you will never make English people go marketing : they always will go shopping."

THE AUTHORITY FOR HOLDING MARKETS.

Mr. W. A. Casson, F.S.S., a clerk in the Local Government Office, who has enquired closely into the question of market rights and tolls, informed the Commissioners that there are only three methods by which market rights can be obtained: By grant from the Crown of a Charter; or by prescription, which pre-supposes a grant; or under statute. Examination into the Charters would he held show in many cases that the Charter was granted to one individual; and now some one else is exercising what are believed to be market rights, but not exercising them in the way the original Charter contemplated—as for instance, holding the market on days other than the grant named, or the present claimant does not represent the original grantee.

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Report.
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As to Charter rights, the earliest Charter under which markets are now held in London is dated the 1 Edward III. (1312), a Statute-charter that set out and confirmed the privileges of the city, that no market should be erected within seven *leucas* of the city [a sort of common law limit of about 6½ miles.] This Charter was confirmed by most of the Plantagenet Kings in the first years of their reigns. In Stuart times came *Inspeccimus* Charters, and finally recent Acts of Parliament, all giving the Corporation of London market rights. The Corporation Fair, Bartholomew or Bartlemy, ended in 1855, having degenerated into a nuisance. The Spitalfields Market, whose rights the Great Eastern Railway Company were declared by the House of Lords to contravene, claims authority over all the East End of London, West Ham, and Stratford, now inhabited by more than a million people, by a Charter granted in 1682 by Charles II. for a market on Thursday and Saturday. A later grant by James II. in 1688, giving a market right for three days in the week, the House of Lords has held to be invalid. The owners and lessee of the market however ask that lost Charters may be assumed, because for 200 years the market has been held more frequently than the Charter of Charles authorises. Columbia Market has statute authority. Covent Garden Market rights depend in part on a Charter of 22 Charles II., as regulated by an Act of the year 1828, and on the Duke of Bedford's private rights. The contention of the Charter owners is that the very grant of a Charter carries with it "an inherent right, which attaches to the ownership of a

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chartered market, of preventing a market being held within a certain area."

Evidence shows that a large number of provincial markets are tollable by Charter or prescription, while a few owe the right to recent Acts of Parliament.

THE PURPOSE OF TOLLS.

Introduction to Domesday Book. Sir Henry Ellis says:—*Tol, Thol or Theloneum* in the language of the Domesday Survey, was not merely the liberty of buying or selling, or keeping a market; it also signified the customary dues or rents paid to the Lord of a Manor for his profits or the fair or market, as well as a tribute or custom for passage.

Market Rights Report. Mr. Goldney, quoting a legal treatise known as "The Mirror of Justices"—(attributed to Andrew Home, an eminent citizen of London, and fishmonger, who also served the office of City Chamberlain, and died in 1328, though some pronounce it older than the Conquest and worked into book form by Home)—says tolls were established in markets in order to testify the making of contracts. There is no doubt that in old times all market bargains were made before an official, whether the reeve, or some other person appointed by him; or in many cases, before two or three witnesses. . . The grantee of a market undoubtedly was bound either himself, or by his officers, to be there to witness bargains, and to guard against malpractices and malfeances of all sorts.

Page 55 Mr. Casson says the common law text books state very clearly that, originally, market owners were required to perform certain duties. The principal among these was the settlement of disputes; and in other ways they were required to protect the market generally against inroads; and of course in turbulent times they undertook the protection of the people, and of the goods in the market. None of these duties are ever required to be performed now.

In order to show that the toll-takers used to perform various duties, Mr. Casson read a proclamation which was formerly made, and is still made, in a market in Broughton-in-Furness. The market there is opened by the bailiff, and he reads a proclamation in the following words:—

"Oyez, Oyez, Oyez! the Lord of the Manor of Broughton, and of this fair and market, strictly chargeth and commandeth, on Her Majesty's behalf, that all manners of persons repairing to this fair and market do keep Her Majesty's peace, upon pain of £5, to be forfeited to Her Majesty, and their bodies to be im-

prisoned during the lord's pleasure. Also that Market Rights no manner of person within this fair and market, do bear any bill, battle-axe, or other prohibited weapons, but such as be appointed by the lord's officers to keep this fair or market, upon pain of forfeiture of all such weapons and further imprisonment. Also that none buy or sell in corners, backs, sides, or hidden places, but in open fair, or market, upon pain of forfeiture of all such goods and merchandise so bought and sold, and their bodies to imprisonment. Also, that no manner of persons shall sell any goods with unlawful mete or measures, yards or weights, but such as be lawful, and keep the true assise, upon pain of forfeiture of all such goods, and further imprisonment. Lastly, if any manner of persons do here find themselves grieved, or have any injuries or wrong committed or done against them, let them repair to the lord, or his officers, and there they shall be heard, according to right, equity, and justice. God save the Queen and the Lord of the Manor."

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Another duty, so Mr. Casson asserts, was the holding of the Pie Poudre Court, which has passed out of existence, save at Bristol. The statute, still in force, which fixes the duties of the Pie Poudre Court, is 17 Edward IV. c. 2. It was a Court for the determination of questions arising upon contracts in fairs. At Bristol the Court, in 1885, was opened beneath the portico of a certain tavern, and adjourned to the Tolsey Court, and before proceeding to business the members who officiated feasted on toasted cheese and metheglin.

"TOLL THOROUGH."

Newcastle-on-Tyne and Carlisle enjoy the right of taking toll on all horses, cattle, sheep, and merchandise passing through the old boroughs. Mr. Casson says this right exists only in a few places, and it really amounts to a duty, or *octroi*, on the goods taken into and brought out of any particular town. Lancaster used to have the privilege, but the levy was found to cause so great inconvenience that Mr. Williamson, a member of Parliament, paid £1,500 to extinguish the tolls. The Town Clerk of Carlisle says the right of toll on goods brought into or taken out of the city exists for the maintenance of all the public streets. The toll on horses, cattle, and sheep, sold in the city and suburbs, or on Carlisle Sands is really a market toll. The shire or county toll—the toll thorough—levied on all cattle, horses, and sheep brought into, and carried, or driven out, of the

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Market Rights county of Cumberland, or that pass out of the Report. county to any place to be sold, is well nigh Vol. 2. unique. This thorough toll extended to goods till the Act of Union between England and Scotland, when the Corporation of Carlisle received £2,400 as compensation for the abolition of the toll on all, save live stock. Collectors lie in wait at the county limits and demand toll, or distrain; while the railway companies compound. Mr. Nanson, the Town Clerk, says the toll is mentioned in a writ of 5 Henry III. as then belonging to the Corporation. It is supposed to have originated as a payment for the cattle driven from Scotland to the English markets, grazing on the unenclosed lands in their passage through the country.

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A SURVIVAL OF THE GOOD OLD TIMES.

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The evidence of Alderman Follows, of Stafford, given before the Royal Commission, brought out the singular fact that the old-time privilege of being toll-free in open market is yet claimed by the Freemen of Stafford. In other towns, the privilege has been lost by disuse, though the borough of Newark, by its Mayor, who, by virtue of his office, is clerk of the market, claims to be toll free all over the kingdom, by Charter of Charles II. Newark was originally an ancient demesne of the Crown. As such the manor folk were free from toll in other parts of the kingdom; but not in the manor itself. Stafford had an open market till 1881, founded by a Charter of John; but now the land has been covered by a Market Hall, built under the provisions of an Act of Parliament of 1876; and the Freemen are fighting for their privilege of an open market and being toll-free.

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The privilege of being toll-free was once highly esteemed in many boroughs. The men of London, by a Charter of Henry I., were quit of scot and lot in London, and their goods quit and free throughout the whole of England, and at all seaports were free of tolls, passages, and lastages and all other customs. By a Charter of 3 Richard I. (1194) the citizens of Norwich were granted equal privileges with the men of London; and similar advantages were given to other towns. Even so late as September 21st, 1821, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commonalty of Norwich, by the Chamberlain, issued a letter to a citizen, made patent by the city seal, requiring all other authorities to free from any demand for toll one John Hart and his servants, on the ground that "by virtue of our Liberties granted

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Town Close
Papers.
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and confirmed unto us by divers kings of England" individual citizens were "free, and ought so to be, of Tollage, Pontage, Passage, Murrage, Pannage, Rivage, Vinage, Lastage, Stallage, Pickage, Wharfage, Forrage, Carriage, and all other customs." The marvel is how, with all these vast privileges in force, any money was had to satisfy the necessary municipal expenditure. In truth, other entries in the Norwich Assembly Books prove that all was not quite so free as men pretended, taxes and tollages having to be paid. In December, 1698, the Corporation asked powers of Parliament to compel traders to take up the freedom of the city, their refusal to do so having led to the offices of Mayor, Sheriff, Aldermen, &c., to fall upon "persons of mean condition, which hath already proved ruinous to some, and will be so to many others for the future," unless Parliament interfered. In May, 1710, the Assembly made a bye-law prohibiting any person not free of the city to trade therein; but in the following September it was ordered that no more persons be admitted to the freedom of the city till December 1st—a sort of fanciful government which deserved to fall into disrepute. A few years later some men had actually, by force of law, to compel the Assembly to admit them to the freedom of the city.

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IRISH MARKETS.

The evidence of Mr. H. A. Robinson, one of Market Rights the Irish Local Government Board Inspectors, is most instructive. It relates to 334 markets which, with some 15 others since fallen into disuse, were the subject of enquiry and report by Royal Commission in the year 1851. The Commissioners found that most of the markets were in private hands; they exposed grievous abuses: and there the matter ended. Mr. Robinson says there has been absolutely no result, so far as private markets are concerned. He says, this quotation from the Commissioners' report is a faithful picture of an Irish market of the present day:—

"We cannot conceive that it was ever intended, when conferring patents, that the tolls should do more than indemnify the proprietor or patentee from loss in providing accommodation." Then they go on to say:—"We would, therefore, strongly recommend that any legislation on the subject should at once deprive these patents of their present character of personal or corporate monopolies, by defining strictly the nature and amount of the charges to be imposed, securing the application of the funds

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Market Rights to market purposes; nor need we apprehend Report. that there will be any superfluity of Vol. 2. revenue which must needs be applied, as at present, to extraneous purposes, when we consider the present state of most of our Irish markets—the filth, the confusion, nay, the actual danger—women and children thrown down, the passengers obstructed by horses and cows, sheep and pigs, all indiscriminately mixed up together, or by the stall of an apple-woman, or the covered standing of some little vendor of calico and ribbons, who has erected his temporary shelter in the thoroughfare; whilst, at every outlet, toll-collectors, armed with bludgeons, are clamouring and enforcing their obnoxious claims."

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The Commissioners found that very little was given in return for the tolls, the amount of which, moreover, was not fixed by the Letters Patent of James I. and succeeding Sovereigns granting market rights to individuals. The proprietor has apparently the power to levy what tolls he pleases. Mr. Robinson's enquiries into one of the markets particularly mentioned as "a bad case, in the 1851 report, Lord Clanricarde's market at Loughrea, showed the following abuses yet existing :—The market is let at a rent of £230. A weighing machine is provided by the owner; but he makes the tenants keep it and all the scales and weights in repair; he contributes nothing to the cost of removing the refuse and cleansing the streets after the markets; no accommodation of any sort is afforded by the lord to secure hay, corn, or straw from rain, or to store any unsold produce. A large and commodious Town Hall having good accommodation was erected about 25 years ago, but Lord Clanricarde does not allow the public to have the benefit of it or any access thereto. The Commissioners of 1851 said of this and some other markets :—"In several places custom is charged on fowls, eggs, butter, fish, apples, and small quantities of provisions brought into market by countrywomen in baskets in their hands, even though such articles be not enumerated in the schedule." Mr. Robinson says the people in a large number of towns struck against the tolls in 1830, and a great many landed proprietors let them lapse; and now it is nearly altogether in the poorer towns in the west and south-west of Ireland that such tolls are levied.

A Poetical Handbook for Husbandmen.

One of the curiosities of English literature is Early English
a translation, in verse, of an old Latin Treatise on
Husbandry. Its date is about the year 1420. The
versifier is unknown, but it is suspected that he
was a member of one of the Religious Houses in
Colchester. The manuscript, written on parch-
ment, lay for many a year, unnoticed and un-
known, in the Library of Colchester Castle : how
it came there, and whence it was brought,
there is no record to show. The form
of the versification, and the form of the
words in which the poem is written, be-
speak for it an antiquity but little short of
Chaucer's day. The writer translates a Latin
writer on Husbandry, whose name was Palladius
Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus, and who flourished
in the fourth century—a man known only by
his book, but the purity of whose Latinity is re-
markable. The treatise has been published in
the vernacular of most European nations; but
the unique Colchester manuscript is said to be
the only version in English. The Early English
Text Society has published this quaint old poem
under the title "Palladius on Husbondrie." Of
course the special intention, says the Editor, the
Rev. Barton Lodge, formerly a Rector in Colchester,
is to illustrate the structure of our language at
an important period, and because in the verse we
get the first use in English of many agricultural
and horticultural terms. A few bits from the old
author, however, may be of equal interest to the
general reader. It will be seen that the English
is easy to be understood, even by the un-
learned,

Texts.
52 and 72.
Preface.

Early English Texts. Palladius, at the outset, declared that husbandry required no rhetoric, or, as our old English translator puts it:—

Book 1.

“ Husbondrie
No rhetorick doo teche or eloquence ;
As sum have doon hemself to magnifie,”

It will be seen that “hemself” is equivalent to our “themselves.” “Hem” is generally used for our “them,” but the old writer also used the form “thayme.”

Next we have a short statement of the subject of the treatise:—

“ Us is to write tillinges of everie lande,
With Goddes grace, eke pasture and housying ;
For husbandry how water shal be fonde ;
What is to rere or doon, in everything,
Plesaunce and fruyte the tiler to bring
As season wol ; his appultreen what houre
Is best to set is part of our laboure.”

Palladius declares his views on the four all-important things in husbandry:—Water, air, lard, and governance, or management. The old English versifier gives the plainest instructions for the determining of wholesome air and water; he describes soils in the most correct manner, and sums up on this point thus:—

Stanza 15. “ The landes fatte or lene, or thicke or rare,
Or drie or moist, and not withouten vice,
Ffor divers seede yit thay right needful are ;
But chese the fatte and moyste is myne avyse.
Her work is leest, and fruyt is moost of price ;
And after it the thicke and ronke is best :
But thicke and drie espy, and graunt it rest.”

On the matter of governance the old author asserts that the master’s presence best advances his fields. When he comes to write of seeds, we find, once and again, the old time teaching that seeds may change their nature; especially wheat, when sown thrice in succession on rich land. In the quaintest of fashions the husbandman is also taught that the agriculturist knows no rest, and that well-done on a small area is better than half-done on a larger farm;—

Stanza 26, 27. “ Necessitie nath never haliday ;
Take hede on that, and feldes temperate
All though it be good sowyng, yit alway
Or long yf it be drie in oon astate,
Let sowe it forth, and god it fortunate.

To till a field man must have diligence,
And balk it not ; but eree it upbe bydene.
A litel tilled weel wol quyte expence,
So take on hande as thou may wele sustene.”

In these nine lines the ordinary reader will only Early English find one puzzling phrase : "ereit upbe bydene" Texts. in our 19th Century English would be, "Plough 52 and 72. it up wholly or thoroughly." After receiving hints respecting vine and olive culture, the husbandman gets yet another bit of personal instruction :—

"A novel vine up goeth by diligence Stanza 30, 31.
As fast as it goeth down by negligence.
And take on hande in husbonding thi lande
As thowe may bere in maner and mesure ;
War arrogaunce in takyng thing in hande ;
For after pride in scorne thou maist assure."

The husbandman is cautioned against the use of old seed corn, and is advised to sow at the "springinge of the morne . . . in daies warm." He is also taught the value of devoting poor land to wood, if he will not rather well work and burn it, and then leave it idle for five years, at the end of which time he is assured that it will increase and thrive. Seeds proved to do well in the locality are to be chosen rather than those strange and unproved. Then follows instruction in regard to manuring with lupines and vetches—just as our modern farmers sometimes find it well to do ; hints as to the soil and seasons most fit for barley growing, and for tree planting ; as to the choice of land, the loss that will arise from the use of bad seed, the building of a house and outbuildings, the care of doves, and other birds. The old English versifier on poultry reads thus :—

"What woman cannot sette an hen on broode Stanza 83.
And bryng her briddes forth ? The crafte is
lyte ;
But ashes, smoke, and dust is for hem goode.
Eke best are hennes blake, and werst are
white,
And good are yolgh [yellow] . . .
Wel thou thai often hatche and eyron [eggs]
grete
Thai legge ? Half-boiled barley thou hem
bringe,
Twey cruises in oon day oon hennes mete
That gothe atte large. . . ."

The directions that follow relate to the time of setting hens, to the diseases of poultry, and to the rearing of pea-fowl and geese. Then follow instructions respecting the garden. Among the remedies the old author advises are these against hail : throw a russet garment upon the querne [mill] and threaten heaven with bloody axes ; grow

Early English white vines around the garden; set up an owl
 Texts. with outstretched wings; or smear all the tools
 52 and 72. with bear's grease:

Book 1.
 Stanza 121. "But that a man must doo full prively,
 That never a warkman wite [know], and this is
 goode
 For frost, and myst, and wormes sekirly [surely].
 But as I trust in Crist that shedde his blode
 For us, whos tristeth this y holde him wode [mad],
 Myne auctor eke, (whoo list in him travaille !)
 [to work]
 Seith this prophaned thyng may nought avail."

There are many other equally silly remedies and preventatives advised by Palladius, which also serve to mark how far husbandmen were yet in bondage to superstition. Then follow a number of sensible directions respecting the thrashing-floor and the storage of corn. The storage place to "make it [grain] longe endure" is a cave,—such subterranean places, in fact, as those which exist in one part of Norfolk under the name "Grimes's Graves," and are also found in Essex and a few other counties. But the old writer recommends the having a store-house also, open on every side :

Stanza 143. "Eke, lest thi greyne in shoures should be lorne,
 Right hoolsum is to have an houn besyde,
 That for a shoure in that it myght abide."

Bee-farming having been of old a much more extensive industry than it is now, because honey was largely used for purposes where we now use sugar, both Palladius and his English versifier write with great fulness of bees and their treatment. Another section relates to the bath which husbandmen are advised to use both for "plesaunce and helthe." The overflow from the bath, which it is assumed will be well supplied from springs or streams, is to be used as a water-mill, for

Stanza 165. "So with litel care
 Shal water cornes grynde and beestes spare."

Finally the husbandman is reminded to get his tools and implements ready:—"the little plough, the large also," the mattock, twyble [axe], piccoys [pickaxe], saws, knives, scythes, sickles, hooks, bills, rakes, crooks, adzes, bicornis [pitchforks], double-bitted axes, marking irons, tools to geld, clip, and shear. This is, in fact, a complete list of the implements of husbandry as used in the fourth century. As for the husbandman's working dress it included "lether

cotes" with a hood to cover the brow, boots, Early English
coccus [leggings], mittens: Texts.

"For husbondes and hunders all this goode is 52 and 72
For thai mot walk in breres and woodes."

To each month a book is devoted, so that the husbandman might be reminded of the work needful to be done. The most minute details find their proper place in the treatise; but these matters would not interest the general reader. Nor would there be much appreciation of the old writer's precise delineation of the points of oxen, horses, or hogs, as these things were understood in his day. The only particular worth citing, as applicable to our day, is that the red colour in beasts was ranked first, and then brown, while cattle bred in the district were declared to be best because

Book 4.
Stanza 101.

"There as with soil or aires qualitee
Thai be not tempted as to fynde a chaunge."

On the question of the choice of a horse the four things to be regarded are said to be form, colour, merit, and beauty. Stanza 102.

It is possible that a sound agriculturist of today would find some profit from the reading of this old-time book. Our part has been to select a few portions, which may not be without their value, as specimens of the English spoken in the 15th Century, and as illustrating what men deemed to be agriculture worth knowing in those days of long ago. We will now let the English versifier himself speak the parting word, choosing for this purpose the "Deo Gracias" appended to the book descriptive of husbandry in March :—

'Nowe Marche is doon and to correctioun Page 139.
His book is goon, as other did afore,
Of him that said I thi protectionoun
From all thy foon adversauntl esse & more
And his beheste stedfast is evermore.
Honoure, Empire, and jubilacioun
To *Ihesu* Crist in special therfore,
My lyf, my light, my right salvacioun.

Shakespeare Outlines.

New editions of Shakespeare's Dramas, Poems, and Sonnets follow each other in rapid succession. No better evidence is needed to support the assertion, that, with the spread of education, the taste for Shakespeare grows more rapidly than the taste for any other writer. Shakesperian literature, in its many forms, has, in fact, grown into so large a collection that the student can only hope to become familiar with it by resort to a Public Library. And as the number of lovers of our greatest poet increases, the demand for books which illustrate his life, which analyse his dramas, or which develop the beauties of his poems and sonnets, will be so enlarged that Public Libraries will find it absolutely necessary to follow in the path which the Birmingham Free Library has so clearly marked out. Other Libraries may not hope to be so successful, nor need they aim after securing a collection to include a copy of every edition. But it is within the power, as it will be found to be the duty, of the managers of every Public Library, to provide a representative collection of the editions of Shakespeare, and a fairly complete collection of studies and illustrations of the poet's work.

"Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare," given a good illustration of what may be done, and what is best left undone. An enthusiast in the study of Shakespeare, he has modestly termed the only life of Shakespeare worthy of the name "Outlines." This book should be studied by those who would know what manner of man was Shakespeare. By the help of a few quotations from its pages, we will strive to give the general reader an outline of the poet, as the more perfect study by the author brings him before us, out of, it must be admitted, the most unpromising of materials.

THE ONLY TRUSTWORTHY EVIDENCE.

At the present day, with biography carried to a wasteful and ridiculous excess, and Shakespeare the idol, not merely of a nation, but of the educated world, it is difficult to realise a period when no interest was taken in the events of the lives of authors; and when the great poet himself, notwithstanding the immense popularity of some of his works, was held in no general reverence. It must be borne in mind that actors then occupied an inferior position in society, and that in many quarters even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable. . . . At the time of Shakespeare's decease non-political correspondence was rarely preserved, . . . and it is by the merest accident that particulars of interest respecting actors and dramatists have been recovered.

"Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare."
Preface V.

Preface VI.

Preface VII.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps does not attempt to illustrate Shakespeare's history by his writings, for this reason:—So vivid is often the earnestness which he throws into the spirit of a character, that it would be occasionally impossible, unless a vigilant guard is entertained against such a fallacy, to doubt that what we read was not a purely intellectual emanation. The greatest of dramatists must necessarily be the least egotistical, one of his profoundest achievements being, by rapid permutations of thought and feeling, to identify himself for the moment with the inner consciousness of each person appearing on the scene. In the course of that mental process he is constantly embodying passions which are not only utterly at variance with his own disposition, but altogether foreign to his experiences.

The evidence on which the "Outlines" depend for their truth is thus confined to documents, to hints to be found in notices written by persons who knew Shakespeare, and to tradition, gleaned from those who lived when the memory of the poet was green. In the preface to the Outlines the reader finds a statement of this secondary evidence. In the reprints of the documents and papers, which occupy a large space in the two volumes, the reader has provided for him the materials on which, if so he pleases, he may himself build up a life-history that may not correspond in all its details with this Outline.

THE POET'S TRAINING—BOYHOOD.

By this volume of "Outlines" the reader realises how unsatisfactory was the preparation

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"Outlines for literary work that the youth got. Neither of the Life of his parents had more than the common run of Shakespeare." knowledge; they executed a deed in the year 1579 by their mark-signatures. In 1565, when John Shakespeare, the poet's father, was one of the Chamberlains of Stratford-on-Avon, he reckoned by counters and signed the accounts with his mark, but such a circumstance was no hindrance to his holding the office of High Bailiff in the year 1568-9. The lad, it is supposed, saw the Coventry players, since he makes reference to the mysteries played by them.

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THE ANCIENT ENGLISH DRAMA.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillips says of these ancient dramas:—

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The period of Shakespeare's boyhood was that of what was practically the last era of the real ancient English mystery. . . . It is impossible to say to what extent even the Scriptural allusions in the works of Shakespeare may not be attributed to recollections of such performances, for in one instance at least the reference, by the great dramatist as represented in those plays, is not to that recorded in the New Testament. The English mysteries, indeed, never lost their position as religious instructors.

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. . . From the 14th century until the termination of Shakespeare's youthful days they remained the simple poetic versions in dialogue of religious incidents of various kinds, enlivened by the occasional admission of humorous scenes. . . . Morals [or Moral-plays] were not only performed in Shakespeare's day, but continued to be a then recognised form of dramatic composition. . . There was, however, no consecutive or systematic development of either the mystery into the moral, or the moral into the historical and romantic drama, although there are examples in which the specialties of each are curiously intermingled.

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YOUTH.

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From the age of seven years, or thereabout, to his thirteenth year William Shakespeare was a pupil at the Free School, where he learned a little Latin; but from his thirteenth to his twenty-first year, when he fled from Stratford to London, he was at business; so that there was then no training for his future excellence as a poet or playwright. Mr. Halliwell-Phillips mentions the tradition that Shakespeare's London career began as a caretaker of the horses of gentry who rode to the playhouse, which was then situate in the

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open fields outside Bishopsgate. William Castle, "Outlines parish clerk at Stratford, used to tell visitors of the Life of that the poet was received into the playhouse as Shakespeare." "a servitude." There is not, says our author, a single particle of evidence respecting his career, during the next five years, from 1587, when he returned to Stratford for a brief stay, until he is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist in 1592.

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RAPID DEVELOPMENT.

The five years ending 1591 must, says Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, have been the chief period of Shakespeare's literary education. Removed prematurely from school; residing with illiterate relatives in a bookless neighbourhood; thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that when he first left Stratford he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunities of acquiring a refined style of composition. After he had once, however, gained a footing in London, he would have been placed under different conditions. Books of many kinds would have been accessible to him, and he would have been almost daily within hearing of the best dramatic poetry of the age. Although Shakespeare had exhibited a taste for poetic composition before his first departure from Stratford-on-Avon [shown in the ballad on Sir Thomas Lucy, which led to his hasty departure], all traditions agree in the statement that he was a recognised actor before he joined the ranks of the dramatists. This latter event appears to have occurred on the 3rd of March, 1592, when a new drama, entitled, "Henry, or Harry the Sixth," was brought out by Lord Strange's servants. . . . Its extraordinary success must have secured for the author a substantial position in the theatrical world of the day. . . . That Shakespeare commenced his literary vocation as to some extent a follower of Marlowe can hardly be denied.

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THE GENIUS OF THE POET.

Dramatic composition was however not then ranked so high as it was after Shakespeare had given to the world his unequalled plays. He won more immediate renown, and in fact at once secured a place among our great poets, by his poems. "Venus and Adonis," published by his fellow townsman, Richard Field, in April, 1593,

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"Outlines Shakespeare, in the charmingly-worded dedication to the Life of Southampton, spoke of as "the Shakespeare," first heire of my invention," and if it proved to be

Page 91 "deformed" he pledged himself never again to "eare so barren a lund, for feare it yield me still so bad a harvest." This poem was favourably received.

Page 106 The publication of "Lucrece," in May, 1594, almost immediately secured for its author a higher reputation than would have then been established by the most brilliant efforts of dramatic art. It was received as the perfect exposition of a woman's chastity, a sequel, or, perhaps, a companion to the earlier one of her profligacy. The contemporaries of Shakespeare allude more than once to the two poems as being his most important works, and as those on which his literary distinction chiefly rested. The "Passionate Pilgrim" was published in the year 1599.

Page 208 The spring of the year 1609 is remarkable in literary history for the appearance of one of the most singular volumes that ever issued from the press. It was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 20th, and published by one Thomas Thorpe, under the title "Shakespeare's Sonnets: never before imprinted," the first two words being given in large capitals, so that they might attract their full share of public notice. This little book, a very small quarto of 40 leaves, was sold at what would now be considered the trifling price of fivepence.

THE GENIUS OF THE DRAMATIST.

Preface XVI. Shakespeare's genius, says Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, arrived at maturity with such celerity, that it is perilous to assert from any kind of internal evidence alone what he could not have written at any particular subsequent period; and dramatic style frequently varies not only with the subject of the adopted narrative, but with the purpose of authorship.

Page 103-4 In one sense, that of being the delineator of the passions and character, Shakespeare was the greatest artist that ever lived, as he was also in melody, and in all kinds of dramatic expression. But in another, and very usual meaning of that personal term, in that of being an elaborator, intent on rendering his component work artistically faultless in the eye of criticism, he can hardly be thought to have even a slight claim to the title. . . . One of Shakespeare's most wonderful gifts was his unlimited power of characterial invention to suit any kind of plot,

no matter how ill-advised, and at the same time "Outlines harmonise with theatrical experiences however of the Life of incongruous, which might have been considered Shakespeare." by the managers or actors to have been essential to the maintenance of popularity. . . . Shakespeare, endowed with an universal genius, created his personages by unfettered instinct : and most happily the times and circumstances were alike favourable to the development of the dramatic power, by which alone the perfect results of that genius could have been exhibited. . . . Writing first for a living, and then for affluence, his sole aim was to please an audience, most of whom were not only illiterate, but unable to either read or write. But this very ignorance of the large majority of his public, so far from being a disadvantage, enabled him to disregard restrictive canons and the tastes of scholars—to make that appeal to the heart and intellect which can only be universal when it reaches the intuitive perceptions of the lowliest—and by exhibiting his marvellous conceptions in the pristine form in which they had instinctively emanated, became the poet of nature instead of the poet of art. That Shakespeare wrote without effort, by inspiration, not by design, was, so far as it has been recorded, the unanimous belief of his contemporaries and immediate successors. . . . There is much of the unrecorded belonging to the pages of Shakespeare that requires to be elicited in action, and no little of that much which can only be effectively rendered under conditions similar to those which prevailed at the opening of the Globe. There can be no doubt that Shakespeare, in the composition of most of his plays, could not have contemplated the introduction of scenic accessories. It is fortunate that this should have been one of the conditions of his work, for otherwise many a speech of power and beauty, many an effective situation, would have been lost.

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THE FIRST FOLIO.

The two volumes of Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, from which these quotations have been made, contain many *fac-similes* of handwriting, drawings, maps, and plans illustrating Shakespeare's life and times. But, probably, most readers of Shakespeare will look with even greater pleasure on the reduced *fac-simile* of the First Folio Edition of the Dramas, now, by the aid of photo-lithography, accessible to every one who cares to spend a few shillings for the treasure. The First Folio was originally

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Library Journal. Feb. 1888. issued at the selling price of twenty shillings. Its value now ranges from £500 to £714, the latter being the price paid by Lady Burdett-Coutts for a very fine, perfect copy. The number of such copies is very small—the edition having, it is believed, been only 250 copies. Many of those which have survived have passed into the ownership of American libraries and individuals, New York alone having twelve copies, and of these three or four are counted among the most perfect.

The Beginnings of the English Village.



The English village, in its picturesque aspect, has not wanted for delineators by pen or pencil, as witness John Ruskin's word-pictures and Birket Foster's dainty water-colours. As the dwelling-place of a small community, the English village has, however, only in recent days received the full attention of historians. And this, notwithstanding the fact that the names of such villages enshrine a large proportion of the history of the English people. Of course our present villages and hamlets are only linked to those of days long past and gone, by their occupying the same sites. But in this fact is found much of the interest of the enquiry: What led to the choice of situation, and thus gave us the hamlet of to-day, where there would appear to be nothing especially favouring settlement? In our own times men have set about investigating old records and the meanings of names and words, to get at the history of the early settlements, and thus they have enabled us to see much of the social state of the land as it was hundreds of years ago.

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IN THE EARLIEST TIMES.

The latest of all authorities is Frederic Seebohm, whose book, "The English Village Community," is described as a happy illustration of the new mode of studying the past. Mr.

Seeböhm, taking his hint from previous writers, boldly makes his own starting point, and modifies their method. . . . He looks about him, finds certain phenomena still lingering, and works his way backward, putting this and that together with the greatest patience and ingenuity, till he has presented us with the essential outline of the process by which the English village community grew up and consolidated itself. . . . The great question he has aimed at solving is whether the communities living in the "hams" and "tons" of England were, at the outset of English history, *free* village communities, or communities in *serfdom*, under a manorial lordship. Evidence derived from Latin writers shows that Eastern Britain, before the Roman invasion, had been the home of yet other invaders, who had settled down as cultivators of the land, growing corn. Pliny asserts that they had got so far in the science of agriculture as to plough in marl to increase the fertility of the fields. Mr. Seeböhm asserts that "when corn becomes the ruling item in economic arrangements there grows up the settled homestead and the village, with its open fields around it." He further contends that the land was farmed upon the open field system, which the Roman invader did not supersede.

Seeböhm also says: Archaeological evidence, gradually accumulating as time goes on, points more and more clearly to the fact that our modern villages are very often on their old Roman, and sometimes probably pre-Roman, sites, —that however much the English invaders avoided the walled towns of Roman Britain, they certainly had no such antipathy to the occupation of its villas and rural villages.

Walter Rye, in his "Popular History of Norfolk," following up the statements of Latin writers in regard to early settlements of Britain by the Belgæ, goes at some length into the question, comparing names of Norfolk villages and places with the names of villages in Denmark. He says the root-syllables of Brancaster and Tasburgh, which we know to have been Roman camps, are represented now in Denmark; that six of the Norfolk Hundreds are identical in name with Danish villages, while five more are obviously also Danish. "The only part of the county absolutely free from Danish, or, indeed, any Scandinavian names are (*a*) a strip of country stretching from the coast north of Lynn for about 20 miles, and extending nearly to D'reham; and (*b*) a long and wide strip extending

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from Southery and Thetford up towards the north-east of the county. This is easily to be accounted for from the fact that these districts are, and always were, the most sterile in the county."

DAYS OF DESTRUCTION.

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Village
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When the Romans had left Britain, and withdrawn as many of the able men as were capable of bearing arms, they could but leave behind them many evidences of their long occupation. Mr. Seehom finds such evidence in the old roads which, first British—as the Ickwold from Wiltshire to Norfolk—were, in their turn, Roman, and then Anglo-Saxon. He also holds that the Anglo-Saxons in their turn adopted the system of field cultivation which had come down from ante-Roman days, and, which in truth, was like their own. There was, at any rate, a change in names; for we find very few existing towns or villages showing by their names that they are relics of the ante-Roman days; and only here and there the memory of Roman settlements in their camps and burghs, as in the names Caister, Brancaster, Colchester, Tasburgh, Attleborough, &c., &c. Some writers are of opinion that the land was in remote parts swept clean by later invaders. Mr. T. Kingston Olyphant in his informing book, "The Sources of Standard English," thus admirably summarised, what, in all probability, occurred:—

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Standard
English,
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The Island of Britain was no longer to be left in the hands of degenerate Celts. Bede tells us how the Jutes settled themselves in Kent and Wight; how the Saxons fastened upon Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; how the Angles, coming from Anglen (the true Old England), founded the three mighty kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, holding the whole of the coast between Stirling and Ipswich. Fearful must have been the woes undergone by the Celts at the hands of the ruthless English heathen, men of blood and iron, with a vengeance. So thoroughly was the work of extermination done that but few Celtic words have been admitted to the rights of English citizenship. The few that we have seem to show that the Celtic women were kept as slaves, while their husbands, the old owners of the land, were slaughtered in heaps. Old Britain was, by degrees, swept away, after much hard fighting, and the history of New England at length begins.

For information as to what followed we will look into

**JOHN RICHARD GREEN'S HISTORIES OF
THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.**

John Richard Green, some time a clergyman in the East End of London, who died ere his work had ended, was a follower of Professor Stubbs and Professor Freeman. Of him and his writings we may have something to say at another time. Just now we will only quote a few words respecting the books from which we draw our illustrative extracts. His first book, and that by which he will be best known to the mass of readers, was the "Short History of the English People." Of this history some hundred thousand copies were sold in England alone, in eight years, from 1874. The English reader in its pages found presented to him a series of word pictures drawn in the most fascinating language. A writer in the *British Quarterly Review* of July, 1883, says:—

Green writes the story of his England as a keenly observant American traveller would record the impressions of a journey through the dear old home of his fathers. He himself realises the England of the past, its topography, and the features, forms, and characters of its successive swarms of invaders, as if he had been an onlooker of the whole series of transactions. With his keenness of imagination, combined with his intensely sympathetic admiration for the race which laid the foundations of England's greatness, Green could not choose but overflow in graphic eloquence that is almost epic. But his was no mere outburst of uninformed exuberance. He was nearly 40 years of age when he published his Short History, and he had been amassing materials for it all his life. . . . His eager eloquence of style is simply the reflection of his clearness of conception, and his enthusiasm for his subject.

The success which attended on the Short History led to the expansion of the "History of the English People" into four volumes, which appeared from 1877 to 1880. For this work Mr. Green had the advantage of Professor Stubbs' Constitutional History as his guide in the consideration of constitutional questions.

THE PLAN OF RE-BUILDING.

The "Short History of the English People," Short History when describing the "ruthless English heathen" of English in their organised life, gives us a good idea of People. how the re-building of village life began here:— Ch. 1. Sec. 1. Of the temper and life of these English Page 3-4. folk in the Old England we know little. But

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Short History from the glimpses which we catch of them when of English conquest had brought these Englishmen to the shores of Britain, their political and social People. Ch. 1. Sec. 1 organisation must have been that of the German race, to which they belonged. The Page 3-4. basis of their society was the landholder. In the English tongue he alone was known as "the man," or "the churl;" and two English phrases set his freedom vividly before us. He was "the free-necked man," whose long hair floated over a neck that had never bent to a lord. He was "the weaponed man," who alone bore spear and sword, for he alone possessed the right which in such a state of society formed the main check upon lawless outrage, the right of private war. The "blood-wite" or compensation in money for personal wrong was the first effort of the tribe as a whole to regulate private revenge. . . . The price of life or limb was paid, not by the wrong-doer to the man he wronged, but by the family or house of the wrong-doer to the family or house of the wronged. . . . The blood-bond gave both its military and social form to Old English society. Kinsmen fought side by side in the hour of battle, and the feelings of honour and discipline were drawn from the common duty of every man in each little group of warriors to his house. And as they fought side by side on the field, so they dwelled side by side on the soil. Harling abode by Harling, and Billing by Billing; and each "wick," or "ham," or "stead," or "tun," took its name from the kinsmen who dwelt together in it. The home or "ham" of the Billings would be Billingham, and the "tun" or town of the Harlings would be Harlington. . . . Each little farmer-commonwealth was girt in by its own border or "mark," a belt of forest, or waste, or fen, which parted it from its fellow villages, a ring of common ground, which none of its settlers might take for his own, but which served as a death-ground, where criminals met their doom, and was held to be a special dwelling place of the nixie and the will-o'-the-wisp. . . . Within the village we find, from the first, a marked social difference between two orders of its in-dwellers. The bulk of its homesteads were those of its freemen or "ceorls;" but amongst these were the larger homes of "eorls," or men distinguished among their fellows by noble blood, who were held in hereditary reverence, and from whom the "ealdormen" of the village were chosen. . . . The actual sovereignty within the settlement resided in the body of its freemen. Their homesteads clustered

round a moot-hill, or round a sacred tree, where the whole community met to administer its own justice and to frame its own laws.

An explanation of the mark system is to be found in

"STUBBS'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND."

The valuable "Constitutional History of Constitutional England," given to the public in 1874, and since then in various editions by William Stubbs, Regius Professor of Modern History, Canon of St. Paul's, and now Bishop of Oxford, is a history of institutions. Such history, the author says, "has a deep value and an abiding interest to those who have courage to work upon it. It presents, in every branch, a regularly-developed series of causes and consequences, and abounds in examples of that continuity of life, the realisation of which is necessary to give the reader a personal hold on the past and a right judgment of the present." The reader will not in vain look into the pages of this history for proofs of what is thus admirably declared to be the purpose of constitutional history.

THE "MARK" SYSTEM.

Its essential character depends on the tenure Ch. 3. Sec. 21. and cultivation of the land by the members of community in partnership. The general name of the mark is given to the territory which is held by the community, the absolute ownership of which resides in the community itself, or in the tribe or nation of which the community forms a part. . . . In the centre of the clearing the primitive village is placed ; each of the markmen has there his homestead, his house, courtyard, and farm buildings. This possession, the exponent, as we may call it, of his character, as a fully qualified freeman, entitles him to a share in the land of the community. He has a right to the enjoyment of the woods, the pastures, the meadow, and the arable land of the mark ; but the right is of the nature of usufruct or possession only, his only title to absolute ownership being merged in the general title of the tribe which he of course shares. The woods and pastures being undivided, each markman has the right of using them, and can turn into them a number of swine and cattle ; under primitive conditions this share is one of absolute equality ; when that has ceased to be the rule it is regulated by strict proportion. The use of the meadow land is also definitely appor-

Constitutional tioned. It lies open from hay harvest to History of the following spring, and during this time is England. treated as a portion of common pasture, out of Ch. 3. Sec. 21. the area of which it is in fact annually selected. When the grass begins to grow the cattle are driven out, and the meadow is fenced round and divided into as many equal shares as there are mark families in the village. Each man has his own hay time, and houses his own crop; that done the fences are thrown down, and the meadow becomes again common pasture. . . For the arable land the same regulative measures are taken. . . In each of the areas the mark-men had his equal, or proportionate share; and this share of the arable completed his occupation or possession.

Here we see the plan which survived in not a few particulars long after the lands were granted to the Norman lords, and in some particulars down to the present century, "Lammas land" being available to many a villager in Norfolk till near the close of the 18th century. Dr. Stubbs proceeds to show that under this mark system there was a perfect communal system, of which we yet see the relic in the parish vestry.

HOW THE INVADERS CAME.

Ch. 4. Sec. 31. Dr. Stubbs shows that the Angles and kindred peoples, when they had resolved to enter into possession of the Britain forsaken by the Romans, acted as folk who came to stay:—

The invaders came in families and kindreds, and in the full organisation of their tribes: the three ranks of men, the noble, the freeman, and the *læt* [which latter some authors suppose to have been in England a relic of ancient British population, who came between the free wealth and the slave]. There seems to be no reason for questioning that the *earl*, *ceorl*, and *læt* of the earliest English laws, those of Ethelbert, answer exactly to the *edhiling*, the *friling*, and the *lazzus* of the old Saxons. Even the slaves were not left behind. The cattle of their native land were, it would appear, imported too; the store they set by their peculiar breeds is proved by the researches into the grave-places of the nations. . . When they had found their new homes, the Angles at least left a desert behind them; for in the days of Bede, the *Angulus*, the land between the continental Saxons and Jutes, whence the Angles came, still lay without inhabitant, testifying to the truth of the tradition that they had gone forth, old and young, noble, gentle, and simple, free and slave, their flocks and herds with them.

Dr. Stubbs holds that the framework of the Constitutional older custom must have been the framework of History of England.

Ch. 5. Sec. 33.

The developments are the greatest in the upper ranges of the fabric, and leave the lower, in which we trace the greatest tenacity of primitive institutions, and on which the permanent continuity of the modern with the ancient English life depends for evidence, comparatively untouched.

The unit of the constitutional machinery or local administration, the simplest form of social organisation was the township, the *rillate* or *vicus*.

In a footnote Dr. Stubbs gives the word *tan* as the equivalent of the Latin words *viculus*, *vicus*, as used by the Venerable Bede. The *tan*, he says, is originally the enclosure or hedge, whether of the single farm, or of the enclosed village, as the *burr* is the fortified house of the powerful man. The corresponding word in Norse is *garde*, our *garth* or *yard*. The equivalent German termination is *heim* or *ham*; the Danish form is *by*. . . . The notion of the *dor* or *thorpe* seems to stand a little further from the primitive settlement.

We will next, for further evidence of how complete was the Conquest, as shown by the surviving names of settlements, quote from

GREEN'S "THE MAKING OF ENGLAND."

This book was published in 1881. The author says the work is "only a partial realisation of an old-standing project of mine, for it is now some ten or twelve years since I made collections for and actually began a history of England up to the Norman Conquest." The work of writing the "Short History of the English People" in its earlier, and its expanded form, intervened, and this book was all that he could complete. It gives "the history of the earlier times up to the union of England under Ecgberht"—a distinct period in our national history of great interest and importance. Mr. Green says "They form, in fact, the period of the Making of England, the age during which our fathers conquered and settled over the soil of Britain, and in which their political and social life took the form which it still retains."

Professor Freeman, comparing this book with that which had preceded it, says:—

The constant brilliancy, the frequent caprice, the occasional carelessness of that remarkable book [the Short History] made some people doubt whether Green really knew his authorities

The Making
of England.
Preface V.

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The Making
of England.

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or was capable of solid historical criticism. He was certainly capable of it in a most remarkable degree at the age of twenty-five. . . . In the "Making of England," and in some of his later writings, there is no lack of real and solid work.

Mr. Scott Keltie, in the *British Quarterly* article previously quoted, says:—He had profited by the criticisms of enemies and friends—how much is evident even from the expanded edition of his History, and still more so from the almost excessive caution shown in his "Making of England."

THE EVIDENCES OF ENGLISH CONQUEST.

The designations of the local features of the country, the names of hill, and vale, and river, often remain purely Celtic. There are "pens" and "duns" among our uplands; "combes" in our valleys; "exes" and "ocks" among our running waters. But when we look at the traces of human life itself, at the names of the villages and hamlets that lie scattered over the country side, we find them purely English. The "vill" and the "city" have vanished, and in their stead appear the "tun" and "ham" and "thorpe," of the new settlers. . . . With the English conquest the towns disappear.

The unit of social life was the cluster of farmers' homes, each set in its own little croft, which made up the township or the tun. The tun was surrounded by an earthen mound, tipped with a stockade or quickset hedge, as well as defended externally by a ditch, and each township was thus a ready-made fortress in war, while in peace its entrenchments were serviceable in the feuds of village with village, or house with house. . . . Inside the mound lay the homes of the villagers, the farmsteads, with their barns and cattle stalls; and in the centre of them rose the sacred tree or mound, where the village, with its elders, met in the tun-moot, which gave order to their social and industrial life. Outside the mound, in close neighbourhood to the village, lay the home pastures and folds, where the calves and lambs of individual cultivators were reared. Beyond and around these home pastures lay the village plough land, generally massed together in three or four large "fields," each of which was broken by raised balks into long strips of soil, that were distributed in turn among the village husbandmen. The whole was enclosed by a borderland or mark, which formed the common pasture, where flock and herd could be turned out by every

freeman to graze, though in numbers determined by usage or the rede of the village-moot.

English
Village

Communities.
Ch. 3.
Page 254-5.

Mr. Seebohm says the Saxons generally used the words "ham" or "tun" to signify manor. In King Alfred's will he devises "estates" in the then West Welsh district (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and part of Wilts), under the name the "land" or the "landes" at such and such a place; whereas, in the south-east or manorial districts of England the description was the "ham" at such and such a place. . . . As late as the time of Bede the suffix "ham" or "tun" was not yet so fully embodied with the names of places as to form part of them. In the remoter parts of Cornwall—where most of the villages are named after some saint, the larger number of whom are not recognised in the English calendar—the name yet given to the manor yard is the town-place.

GREEN'S "CONQUEST OF ENGLAND."

This book, which continues the "Making of England" to Norman times, is, like it, a remarkable example of the power of mind over matter. Mr. Green knew in the spring of the year 1881 that "the days that might still be left to him must henceforth be conquered day by day from death. . . . At the moment of his greatest bodily weakness, when fear had deepened into the conviction that he had scarcely a few weeks to live, his decision was made. The old plans for work were taken out, and from these a new scheme was rapidly drawn up in such a form that if strength lasted it might be wrought into a continuous narrative, while if life failed some finished part of it might be embodied in the earlier History." The "Making of England" was the first fruits of this battle with death. "With such sustained zeal, such eager conscientiousness was his work done, that much of it was wholly re-written five times, other parts three times." The next spring saw him once more in England, and "he resolutely turned again to the interrupted history of Early England, to take up the tale at the period of its greatest obscurity." The book was finished and printed in the autumn, but when the dying author had regained a little strength in the south of Europe, he resolved to improve on what he had done, cancelled the printed book, and "with a last effort of supreme ardour and devotion he set himself to a task which he was never to finish." The book thus painfully dictated to his wife she gave

Preface IX.

Preface X

The Conquest to the world after his death, under the title of England. "The Conquest of England," completing from his notes and other materials what he had left imperfect.

EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS.

Ch. 1.
Page 4.

In "The Conquest of England" we have this statement of the advance made in Egbert's days:—

Side by side with the change in the character of the population had gone on a change in the country itself. . . . Britain was no longer the mere sheet of woodland and waste which the English had found it. Population had increased, and 400 years of labour had done their work in widening the clearings, and thinning the woods. . . . We can see the general results of this industrial warfare in a single district, such as Dorset. When the English landed in Britain, no tract was wilder or less civilized; its dense forest reaches, in fact, checked the westward advance of the conquerors, and forced them to make their way slowly along the coast from the Stour to the Exe. Even when the Dorsæan were fairly settled there, the names of their hundreds, and of the trysting places of their courts, show the wild state of the land. The hundred moots gather at barrow or den, at burn or ford, in comb or vale, in glade or woodland, here beside some huge boulder or stone, there on the line of a primeval foss-dyke, or beneath some mighty and sacred tree. . . . Nowhere was the industrial work of the church more energetic. Ealdhelm planted centres of agriculture, as well as of religion, at Sherborne and Wareham; and if more than a third of the shire belonged, in later days, to the clergy, it was in the main because monk and priest had been foremost in the reclamation of the land.

THE VILLAGE AND THE PARISH.

Ch. 1.
Page 14, 15.

The stages by which the township passed into its modern form of the parish, and by which almost every trace of its civil life successively disappeared, are obscure and hard to follow; but the change began with the first entry of the Christian priest into the township. The village church seems often to have been built on the very mound that had served, till then, for the gatherings of the townsfolk. It is through this, that we so often find, in later days, the tun-moot held in the churchyard, or ground about the church; and the common practice, even now, of farmers

gathering for conference outside the church Constitutional porch, before morning service, may preserve a History of memory of this freer open-air life of the moot, England. before it became merged in the parish vestry. Page 104.

The church thus became the centre of village life . . . while the priest as its custodian displaced more and more the tun-reeve or elder. . . . Though the lord's court came to absorb the bulk of the work of the olden tun-moot, the regulation and apportionment of the land, the enforcement of by-laws, the business of its police, yet the tun-moot retained the little that grant or custom had not stripped from it: and it is thus that in its election of village officers, of churchwarden and waywarden, as well as in its exercise of the right of taxation within the township for the support of the church and poor, we are enabled to recognise in the parish vestry, with the priest at its head, the survival of the village-moot which had been the nucleus of our early life.

WHEN THE ENGLISH HAD MADE THEIR HOMES.

Mr. Prothero in his interesting book, entitled "The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming," pictures the village when the English had settled here as a nation:—

Tufts of trees, conspicuous in the hedgeless expanse of land by which they were surrounded, marked the sites of villages, as they still do in the high table-land of the Pays de Caux. Within the 'tun,' or enclosure, were the tofts and crofts of substantial peasants, and the cottages and curtilages of the cottagers, 'fenced al aboute with stikkes.' These were the only property held by the members of the township in several ownership. They were also originally the only permanent enclosures. But as agriculture advanced, yards (gerstuns or garstons) for rearing stock, or for the oxen which could not 'endure his warkes to labour all daye, and then be put to the commons, or before the herdsman,' were enclosed in the immediate proximity of the village. In these enclosures, or 'happy garstons,' as they were called, at Aston Boges, were held the village merry-makings, the rush-bearings, the May-games, the summerings at St. John Baptist's Eve, the public breakfasts, and the distribution of bread and ale in Rogation Week. Beyond the village lay the common arable fields, including the driest and soundest land. These fields were two and three, or rarely four in number. If the former, one field lay fallow, the other under tillage for corn, or

The Pioneers
and Progress
of English
Farming.
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Page 3-7.

The Pioneers beans, or peas. The dual system was, when and Progress Fleta wrote, generally superseded by the three-of English field or trinity arrangement; yet it prevailed Farming. near Gloucester in the present century, and existed at Stogursey, in Somersetshire in 1879. From the reign of Henry III. to that of George III. the trinity fields received the unvarying triennial succession of wheat or rye, spring crops, such as barley, oats, beans, or peas, and fallow. During this period a more scientific rotation was in some districts adopted. Thus at Aston Boges, in Oxfordshire, a fourth course was interposed.

Each of the three arable fields was subdivided into shots, furlongs, or flats, separated from one another by unploughed, bush-grown turf balks. These flats were in turn cut up into parallel strips of about an acre apiece, coinciding with the arrangement of a ploughed field in ridges and furrows. Theoretically, each flat was a square of forty poles, containing ten acres; in practice every variety of shape and admeasurement was found. The strips appear under different names. In Scotland they were called 'rigs,' in the North of England generally 'oxgangs,' in Westmoreland 'dales,' and their possessors 'dalesmen,' in Cambridgeshire 'balks,' in Somersetshire 'landshires' or 'raps.' They generally contained an acre; but half-acres, and even single poles or rods called 'butts' are found. Stray odd corners which did not fit in with the parallel arrangement of the shots were called 'cruste,' that is, pieces broken off, pightels, 'gores (as in Kensington Gore), 'fotheres,' and 'pykes'; because, as Fitzherbert explains, they were 'often brode in the one ende and a sharpe pyke in the other ende.' These strips, thus scattered over the arable fields, were fenced off for the separate use of individuals from seed-time to harvest. On Lammas Day separate use terminated, and common rights recommenced; hence the strips were often called Lammas lands. After harvest, the hayward removed the fences, and the cattle of the community wandered over the fields before the common herdsman. Sometimes each commoner herded his own flocks. Richard Hooker, while he held the countryliving of Drayton Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, was found by two of his former pupils, like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field. That no occupier might find all his land fallow in the same year, everyone had strips in each of the three arable fields. If the holding

was a virgate of 30 acres, there would be 10 acres in each field. To divide equally the good and bad, well and ill-situated soil, the bundle of strips allotted in each field did not lie together, but was scattered.

The Pioneers
Progress
of English
Farming.

In the lowest part of the land—if possible along a stream—lay the ‘ings,’ or meadows, annually cut up into lots or doles, and put up for hay. These doles were fenced off for the separate use of individuals from Candlemas to Midsummer Day; from July to February they were open, common pasturage. Each lot was distinguished by a mark, such as the cross, crane’s foot, or peel. Corresponding marks were thrown into a hat or bag, and drawn by a boy. This balloting continued up to the present century in Oxfordshire and Somersetshire. No winter keep for stock was provided; the common field armer could only fatten cattle at the wane of the summer. Then they had the aftermath of the meadows, the stubble or haulm of the arable fields. After Michaelmas they steadily declined, and only survived the winter in a state of semi-starvation. Hence worn-out oxen or aged cows were slaughtered in the autumn and salted for winter consumption. ‘For Easter at Martylmas hang up a beef,’ is the advice of Tusser. On the outskirts of the arable fields lay one or more ‘hams,’ or stinted pastures, supplying superior feed. Branderham, Smithsham, and Wontnersham suggest that special allotments were made to those who practised crafts of general utility. The poorest and most distant land of the township was left in its native wildness. It afforded timber for fuel or fencing, masts, and acorns for swine, rough pasture for the ordinary live stock.

The common field system, thus briefly sketched, with its arable, meadow, and pasture land, prevailed at some time or other throughout England, except in the west.

THE DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

Again quoting from “The Conquest of England,” we have this evidence of Danish settlement on even a larger scale than is shown by names of villages in Norfolk and Lincoln:—

Ch. 3.

Page 114.

The bulk of Britain lay still in Danish hands after their defeat by Alfred. . . . The names of the towns and villages of Deira show us in how systematic a way Southern Northumbria was parted among its conquerors. . . . The English population was not displaced, but the lordship of the soil was transferred to the conqueror. . . . Some of the new settlements

The Conquest can be easily traced through the termination of England. 'by' a Scandinavian equivalent for the English 'tun' or 'ham,' while others may be less certainly distinguished by their endings in 'thwaite' or 'dale.' . . . Of the life or institutions of these settlers we know little, for from the moment of their settlement to the Conquest of the Norman, northern England is for 200 years all but hidden from our view.

Page 120. The change of the English name 'moot,' for the gathering of the freemen in township or wapentake, into the Scandinavian 'thing' or 'ting,' a change recorded by local designations, is significant of the social revolution which passed over the North with the coming of the Dane. . . . The 'byes' of Norfolk and Suffolk lie clustered, for the most part, round the mouth of the Yare; and this was probably the one part of this district where distinct pirate communities existed; throughout the rest of it the Danes must simply have quartered themselves on their English subjects. . . . The local institutions of East Anglia remained English, while it was far more closely connected with the English Kingdom than its fellow states. We find no trace of trithing or wapentake within its bounds.

Sources of
Standard
English.

Mr. Oliphant, in the work previously quoted, provides us with a numerical value of the Danish relics:—

Ch. 2.
Page 41. The Orms, Gruns, Spils, Osgoods, and Thors, have left abiding traces of themselves in Eastern Mercia and Northumbria. . . . The endings *by*, *thwaite*, *ness*, *drop*, *haugh*, and *garth*, are the sure tokens of the great Danish settlement in England; fifteen hundred of such names are still to be found in our North-Eastern Shires. The six counties to the north of Mercia have among them 246 places that end in *by*; Lincolnshire, the great Norse stronghold, has 212; Leicestershire has 66; Northamptonshire 26; Norfolk and Notts have rather fewer. . . . English freedom was in the end the gainer by the fresh b'ood that now flowed in. When Domesday was compiled, no shire could vie with Lincolnshire in the thousands of its freeholders; East Anglia was not far behind. Danish surnames, like Anderson, Paterson, and greater than all, Nelson, show the good blood that our Northern and Eastern Shires can boast.

The Conquest
of England.

NORWEGIAN VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS.

Ch. 6.
Page 276. The Isle of Man, which the Norwegians had conquered, and half-colonised, served as a starting-point from which the marauders made their way

to the opposite shores. Their settlements reach The Conquest as far northward as Dumfries-shire, and southward of England, perhaps to the little group of northern villages which are found in the Cheshire peninsula of the Wirral. But it is in the Lake District and in the north of our Lancashire that they lie thickest. Ormside and Ambleside, Kettle-side and Silver-side recall the 'side' or settle of Orm and Hamell, of Ketel and Söelvar, as Ulverston and Ennerdale tell of Olaf and Einar. Buthar survives in Buttermere, Geit in Gatesgarth, and Skögul in Steggles Water. The Vikings Sölvär and Böll and Skall may be resting beneath their 'hang' or tomb-mound at Silver How, Bull How, and Scall How.

The Lake District seems to have been almost exclusively peopled by Celts and Norwegians. The Norwegian suffixes gill, garth, haugh, thwaite, foss, and fell are abundant; while the Danish forms thorpe and toft are almost unknown; and the Anglo Saxon test words, han, ford, worth, and ton, are comparatively rare.

Taylor's
Woods and
Places.
Page 115.

VILLAGE LIFE 800 YEARS AGO.

Domesday provides the material with which to Contemporary picture village life as it was 800 years ago. Canon Isaac Taylor, in a learned paper to be found in the record of Domesday celebration in the summer of 1887, and in a popular article contributed to *The Contemporary Review* of December, 1886, under the title "Domesday Survivals," sketches for us the Domesday village, and the like continued till a very recent time. He cites the instances of the parish of Pickering, in Yorkshire, with its 400 acres of enclosure, 7,000 acres tilled in open fields, 26,000 acres of moorland pasture, and a population of about 100 souls, where are now 5,000 people: Holme-on-Spalding Moor, with its 600 acres of tillage and nearly 11,000 acres of moor and carr, a population of about 100, a church, and a priest, where there are now 2,000 people. These are samples of the state of affairs where the soil was poor and the wastes unusually extensive. The arable land, says Canon Taylor, was divided between the lord and the tenants of the manor, who held in villeinage. A villein usually owned a yoke of oxen, each plough being drawn by the teams of four villeins. The villein paid rent mainly in kind and by service, giving a certain number of days' work on the lord's land; and he had a virtual right to the continued use of his holding. There were also, in the little community, cottagers, named *bordarii* in Domesday.

Review.
Vol. 50.
Page 883.

Contemporary When money rents were paid, they do not appear to have exceeded a penny or twopence an acre. We gather from the Boldon Book of Durham (A.D. 1183) and the Liber Niger of Peterborough (A.D. 1125), that the village artificers—the carpenter, the smith [faber], the marshall who shod the horses, the lorimer who made the bits and the stirrups, the bailiff, the mason, the pounder, the shepherd, the neat-herd, the hogwarden, and the bee-keeper were paid for their services by the produce of a certain number of strips of arable in the open fields, which they held rent free, and which were tilled for them by the ploughs of the villeins ; in addition to which they often had the right to their thraves, a certain number of sheaves of corn from each plough. The priest also was paid for his services by a share in the produce of the land ; either his thrave of the tenth sheaf, or the produce of every tenth or twelfth acre-strip. The village had its "outgang," as it is yet called, where the cattle of those who had rights of grazing were collected in the morning, ready to be driven out on to the moor under charge of the neatherd.

Page 890.

In the districts most completely under Danish influence, there were many *liberi homines* [free men] and of the allied class of *sochmanni* [soc-men] but nowhere else. Out of the Danish district, nearly all the population on a manor seem to have been tenants in villeinage, or slaves (*servi*). The *servi*, or household thralls, were found chiefly in the Southwest of England, and were absent from the Danish districts. The cottage tenants were about one-third of the population. Sometimes these cottagers had no land ; in some cases they had a garden. As a rule, the cottager held his cottage and five acres in the open fields. Mr. Seebom, from his examination of Domesday, concludes that in all about five million acres were then under the plough, and that the open field system, worked by village communities in villeinage, was the economic condition of England.

English
Village
Communities,
Page 87-102

Short History Mr. Green, in his "Short History," says that of England, before the conquest by William the Norman, Ch. 1. Sec. 6. slavery had been gradually disappearing before Page 54-56. the efforts of the Church. The slave was exempted from toil on Sundays and holydays ; here and there he became attached to the soil, and could only be sold with it : sometimes he ac-

THE VILLAGE FOLK OF 800 YEARS AGO.

quired a plot of ground, and was permitted to Short History purchase his own release. Æthelstan gave the of England. slave class a new rank, by extending to it the Ch. 1. Sec. 6. same principles of mutual responsibility for Page 54-56. crime which were the basis of order among the free. The Church was far from contenting herself with this gradual elevation. Manumission became frequent in wills, as the clergy taught that such a gift was a boon to the soul of the dead. Usually the slave was set free before the altar, or in the church porch, and the Gospel-book bore written on its margins the record of his emancipation. Sometimes his lord placed him at the spot where four roads met, and bade him go whither he would. In the more solemn form of the law, his master took him by the hand in full shire meeting, showed him open road and door, and gave him the lance and sword of the free-man. But the decrease of slavery was more than compensated by the increasing degradation of the people. With the advance of the thegn fell the freedom of the peasant. Gradually the "lordless man" became a sort of outlaw in the realm. The free churl sank into the villein, and with his personal freedom went his share in the government of the State.

Dr. Draper, in his "History of the American Civil War," finds a parallel between President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and William the Conqueror's action when Saxons and Danes joined together in revolt against him:—

History of the
American
Civil War.
Ch. 18. Sec. 4.
Page 344.

The Saxons took oaths of loyalty with the intention of breaking them. It was found that they could not be trusted. An inexorable fate oppressed both parties, and drove them to atrocious extremities. The Saxons called in the Danes, and were abandoned by them in the first reverses. William, to sap the power of his antagonists, gave facilities for the emancipation of their slaves. It may be said that William delivered from the depths of bondage nearly all the rural population. He gave them legal rights. The lord could no longer deprive a labourer of his land if a just service had been rendered for it. No man could be sold out of the country. The residence of a slave for a year and a day, without being claimed, in any city, or walled town, or castle, entitled him to perpetual liberty. The case of the peasant thus came into the Courts of the King, where justice was sure to be meted out. Lowly though they might be, the rights of the bondsman were carefully recorded in Domesday Book. The laws of this King made all the labouring population look up to him as their friend. If once the empan-

tion of the slave had been publicly proclaimed, and the emblems of war, a lance and a sword, had been openly put into his hand, our warlike forefathers held that the faith of the nation was irrevocably pledged. From that moment the man was forever free.

Introduction to Domesday Book. Sir Henry Ellis, in his "Dissertations on Domesday," collects the various references to persons to be found in Domesday. He mentions the Freemen, or Freeholders of a manor—ordinary freemen (*Liberi homines*) and also those who were under the protection of great men, it may be to gain freedom by rendering service for a year and a day. Such *Liberi homines commendatione*, as these protected ones were termed, were principally found in Norfolk and Suffolk, and the practice existed in the time of Edward the Confessor. Socmen were inferior landowners, privileged villeins, who though their tenures were absolutely copyhold, yet had an interest equal to a freehold, with services fixed and determinate, and holdings secure. Some of these socmen, the *rachinistres* or *radmanni*, it is conjectured did their service on horseback. The Villani were the next in order, and were either annexed to the manor or land, or annexed to the person of the lord. This was the class which, of all the servitude folk, first won their freedom; only, however, to be degraded to a level with those who had been servi, by the military oppression of the Normans. Next in order came the Bordarii—not necessarily allotment holders, for in Norwich at Domesday there were 480 such. The Cottarii and Coscets were cottagers who paid a certain rent for very small parcels of land. The Servi of Domesday were, at the arbitrary pleasure of the lord, appointed to servile works, and received their wages and maintenance at the discretion of the lord. Mention is also made of Huscarli—house carles or domestic servants; and of Joculatrix, or minstrels.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE HUNDRED ROLLS.

English
Village
Communities,
Page 41.

The Hundred Rolls, which contain the report of what we may term a Royal Commission issued by Edward I., show that by the year 1279 actual services rendered to the lord of the manor by villeins and servi had largely given place to money payments. The most persistent marks of serfdom that remained were the fine imposed upon the marriage of a daughter, the heriot on the death of the holder, and

restraint on the sale of animals. The fearful ravages made by the Black Death did very much to ensure to the workers the freedom they had been so long in acquiring; but it also led to a terrible rising of the village-folk, which was the first great struggle of the landless and the landlord, of which we are only now witnessing the end in equal electoral rights for all classes of the community.

A CAMBRIDGE "COMMON FIELD."

An old Tithe Book, probably of the time of Henry VII., included among the documents of St. Catherine's College Cambridge, of which the Historical Manuscripts Commission makes mention, proves that the Common Field system of Saxon days was yet in existence at Cambridge. It contains an account of the several balks, ridges, or sellions, in Grethowsfelde, Middlefelde, Littlefelde, and Carmelfelde (names full of historical signification), belonging to various persons and religious communities, such as those of St. Radegund, St. Giles, St. Peter, and St. Botolph, in Cambridge, to whom tithes from such sellions, and in what proportions, were due.

Historical
Manuscripts
Commission
IV.
Page 424.

A CURIOUS NORFOLK SURVIVAL OF THE OLD DAYS.

In 1557 Tusser described Essex and Suffolk as almost wholly enclosed, while the common field system, usually in a three-field shift, and exceptionally in a two-field shift, prevailed in Leicestershire, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire.

One of the most interesting evidences of the survival, to a late period, of the land and village system we have depicted, is to be found in an advertisement of land and tithe to let, inserted in the *Norwich Mercury* on April 24th, 1736:—

"To be LETT, from Michaelmas next,

GUYTON HALL FARM, in Norfolk, five Miles from Lynn, and Seven from Swaffham; consisting of a good and convenient Farm-House, with all necessary Buildings, in good Repair, a Sheeps-Walk for 300 Ewes, One Hundred Eighty Four Acres and upwards of inclosed Whole Year Land, Meadow and Pasture, One Hundred Acres and more of Half Year or Lammas Ground, One Hundred Acres and upwards of Infield Land, Two Hundred and Twenty Acres of Outfield Land, and Breck Lands entire, One Hundred and Thirty Acres

"Norwich
Mercury,]
1736.

"Norwich
Mercury,"
1836.

and upwards : The Summer Lands to be enter'd upon immedately by the incoming Tenant : The Annual Rent is Two Hundred Pounds. Also the Great Tythes of the said parish of Guyton from Michaelmas, with or without the said Farm, at Eighty Pounds per Annum. Enquire of Mr. HENRY COCKSEEDGE, of Thetford in Norfolk."

The Half-year, or Lammas Land was, as has been previously mentioned, that over which there was pasture of common, as soon as a grain crop had been gathered, and until the time for sowing again came round : In-field and Out-field lands carry us back to the days when the common field with its acre strips a furrow long was the rule—this was the infield; the outfield evidently was that which was brought into cultivation from the mark-land, as population increased. Lastly, we have Brecks or Shifts of arable land, as another advertisement of the year 1733 defines the term. Whole-year land is mentioned in an advertisement of land to let at Fersfield, by the Rev. Francis Blomefield, the local historian, in the year 1739 ; so that there is abundant evidence of the clear distinction being then made between enclosed whole-year and unenclosed half-year land.

Enclosure
Acts.

Some of the Acts authorising the enclosure of lands in the county mention the old terms. Thus in the Act applicable to Great and Little Cressingham, passed in 1810, we read of "Whole Year Lands, Common Fields, Half-year or Shack Lands, Commonable Grounds, Lammas Meadows, Whinn Lotts or Doles, Heaths, Commons, and Waste Lands" in Great Cressingham ; and of "Open and Enclosed Field, and Half-year or Shack Lands, Meadows, and Pastures" in Little Cressingham. Half-year or Shack Lands are also mentioned in the Pentney Enclosure Act (55 George III , 1814-15).



A Sixteenth Century Reformer.

The Sixteenth Century is a time marked by a goodly number of Reformers. Luther, Copernicus, Columbus, Coverdale, Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell, and William Shakespeare were severally Reformers in the Sixteenth Century. They are, however, the greater lights. Many another less conspicuous man helped to make the 16th a noteworthy century in the world's history. Among these lesser luminaries we must count the 16th century Reformer of whom we would give a brief account. This noteworthy Englishman is Sir William Forrest, "preeiste," "sometyme chapylayne to the noble Queene Marye," believed to have been a retainer of Cardinal Wolsey, and a man, who, it is evident, "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers." The "Sir" is possibly only the then common designation of a priest, as we should now courteously speak of such an one as "Reverend."

Thomas Warton, in his "History of English Poetry"—a book which does not receive from this generation the attention it merits—set forth, a century ago, some of the facts which should help to keep green the memory of Sir William Forrest, as an English writer. Warton mentions the flattering poem in which Catherine, the first of Henry VIII.'s many wives, was made out to be a "Second Gresield," and Mary's Chaplain, doubtless found his reward for the laborious task. In King Edward VI.'s day, this poem, although written, had not seen the light. Forrest then filled the character of a Protestant translator of the Psalms, and a general supporter of the powers that ruled the land in the anti-Romish interest. The poem, from which we shall presently make a few extracts to qualify Sir William Forrest as a Reformer, "The Pleasant Poesie of Princelie Practise,"

History of
English
Poetry.
Sec. 53.

**History of
English
Poetry.**

was dedicated to the King, while the translation of 50 of David's Psalms, and a long poem on "the most chaste and innocent Joseph, son to the holy patriarch Jacob," yet existing only in manuscript in the British Museum, were dedicated to the Protector Somerset. "Forrest was," says Warton, "eminently skilled in music, and, with much diligence and expense, he collected the works of the most excellent English composers that were his contemporaries. These, being the choicest compositions of John Taverner, organist of Cardinal College, now Christ Church, at Oxford, John Merbeck, who first digested our present church music from the notes of the Roman missal, Fairfax, Tye, Sheppard, Norman, and others, falling, after Forrest's death, into the possession of Doctor William Hether, founder of the musical praxis and professorship at Oxford in 1623, are now fortunately preserved at Oxford in the archives of the music school to that institution." Those of us who love English music cannot be too grateful to Sir William Forrest, Priest, for doing us this good service. Nobody who reads his verse would suspect him of having any ear for the rhythmical march of sound displayed in these old English masters. This much of the man.

**Early English
Texts.**

Extra Series.

No. 32

Appendix.

Now let us turn to his teachings in his "Pleasant Poesie," which the Early English Text Society has made available. We will modernise the spelling, after quoting one stanza to give our readers the opportunity of seeing what a University man's English was like just 340 years ago, and only a few years before the unlearned William Shakespeare opened the well of English undefiled.

THE PUBLIC WEAL THE CHIEF GOOD.

**Ch. 18.
Page 11-19.**

Vertue thus mayntened and Vice depressed;
Then are the people like the Gardeyne plot,
That is depured, leaneuyd, and dressed:
Too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot,
As your Wisdome and Counselle dothe well
wote,
For the Commune wealthes beste preseruation:
Nowe maye yee put in exercitation.

Forrest goes on to urge the young King that the public weal holdeth it not to be the right way, to allow the private advantage of one individual to operate to the disadvantage of a number of citizens; whether in the enclosing of commons which was then the prevailing

mode of getting the better of the masses, Early English
or in trade. He says :—

Texts,
Extra Series.

Or if ye shall of affability

Unto some one such liberty grant

T'enpark or enclose for his commodity :

That, the hindrance of more might warrant ;

Or any such ways t'accustom or haunt,

By buying or selling to others' hindrance :

No such thing suffereth a civil ordinance.

It will be admitted that this is very rugged verse. No matter how reasonable may be the ideas embodied therein, it is hard reading. Having given a specimen of the writer in his own style of spelling, and a specimen of the man's ideas in modern dress, we will for the most part put the rest of his reforming plans and advice into nineteenth century prose.

Our author goes on to argue that the rich should not be allowed to accumulate "corn, grain, or chaffer" so as to make a dearth. He uses the old word "mucker" freely, to signify heaping up :—

"The rich reserveth and muckereth up more;
By which riseth this common proverb late :
Some must be savers, store is no sore."

This accumulation, against which laws were passed again and again, is declared to be contrary to the King's honour no less than to the public good. A Kings' honour, the reformer says, is not upstayed, maintained, and fortified, by one, two, or three, or the fewer part, but by the many. Therefore, a King ought to provide for his Commons, and see to it that "wone clubbed cobbe"—a queer appellation this for a wealthy selfish man!—did not encroach on the living of a hundred men. Hence, too, this reformer would prevent foreigners growing rich by trading in England, to the disadvantage of our own folk : who should be chiefly respected because in the time of need their help would be required. Arising out of this we have the Reformer propounding Tenant Right, such as we have only very recently had established by legislation :—

LANDLORD AND TENANT.

Sir William Forrest did not in this particular speak with bated breath. He was, in fact, a root and branch reformed :— Ch. 18. Verse 20, 21.

Let not of yours one another out thrust
Forth of his living, his lease, or his holde :
Res publica thereat her heart waxeth cold.

Early English A poor man which hath both children and wife,
 Texts Who (with his parents), upon a poor cotte
 Extra Series. Hath there mannred [i.e., laboured with his
 hands] many a man's life,
 And truly paid both rent, scot and lot :
 A covetous lord, who conscience hath not,
 By rent enhancing, or for more large fine,
 Such one to cast out : it goeth out of line.
 This to be seen to, the Public weal crieth.

Verse 19-27. Not without cause did people look back
 with favour on the days that had gone by:
 The world is changed from what it hath been
 Not to the better; but to the worse far.
 More for a penny we have before seen
 Than now for fourpence, who list to compare.

This may, he said, matter little to the wealthy
 but it marred the common weal. The cause of
 the mischief, he found in owners raising the
 rent, or exacting for tenure of the holdings
 “four-fold double.” He declares that rents had
 been raised from £20 to £50; fining for the same,
 on the renewal of leases, six times the rent,
 Add this together, he says, dear food must
 result.

For if the farmer pay four-fold double rent,
 He must his ware needs sell after that stent.
 Hence the ox which used to be sold for forty
 shillings now made five to seven pounds, and
 sheep, though much more numerous than of old,
 sold so dear that “scace the poore man can bye a
 morsell.” We get this view of prices current
 and of retail trading four hundred years ago :—
 Two-pence (in beef) he cannot have served,
 Other in mutton, the price is so high :
 Under a groat he can have none carved :
 So goeth he and his to bed hungrily,
 And riseth again with bellies empty ;
 Which turneth to tawny their white English skin,
 Like to the swarthy coloured Flandrekin.

THE STURDY ENGLISHMAN.

Verse 33. Our author asserted that to get valiant, strong
 sturdy, and stout Englishmen, to shoot, to
 wrestle, to do any man'sfeat, and to match all
 nations dwelling here about, as hitherto they
 had done, the food must be as of old.
 Our English nature cannot live by roots,
 By water, herbs, or such beggary baggage
 That may well serve for vile outlandish coats :
 Give English men meat after their old usage,
 Beef, mutton, veal, to cheer their courage,
 And then I dare to this bill set my hand :
 They shall defend this our noble England.

This believer in English produce would also Early English have, by law, prevented the export of wool, and Texts. would have it made up, in village factories, into Extra Series. honest cloth : all faulty cloth to be kept for Ch. 20. home use, lest foreigners should "find us amiss," Verse 4-8. for, as he asserts,

What the salesman is the ware oft doth teach.
He would also have the price of the raw material fixed, so as to be reasonable, "as it hath been so seen at within twenty years."

THE IRISH LAND ACT ANTICIPATED.

But this legislation would demand yet other amendment : in fact, the setting up for England what, in this nineteenth century, Parliament has done for Ireland. Rents, he declared, must be reduced to what they were forty years before :—

These raging rents must be looked upon,
And brought into th' old accustomed rent,
As they were at forty years agone.

Better this, he asserted, than "thousands thousands to perish for hunger." But how was it to be done ? Here comes in the proposal that anticipates the Irish Land Commission, and its power to fix fair rents. The parallel is so very close that it is well to quote the poem (in modern spelling) :—

In which Your Highness this order may take Verse 14, 15.
Discreet men of your counsel to assign,
That will be corrupted for no man's sake :
And they with help their endeavour t' incline,
Over your realm, where this is out of line.
Groundes and farmes to peruse and survey
Rents to reform that be out of the way.

And as their wisdom (with conscience) shall see
(The soil considered, barren or fertile)
The owners (by them) ordered to be
Their rents t' abate, enhanced so long while
Private commodye to put to exile
Rating the same indifferently so :
The farmers to live, and by them other moe.
Not in thraldom and pinching penury
To be as drudges unto their landelordes ;
But as yeomen becometh honestly
And of God's law conveynatethe the con-
chordis."

The English yeomanry he declared to be Verse 20-23.
known to all men to be the mainstay of the nation. Furthermore, this land reformer would have had all exactions of fines for leases stopped, so that a poor man might live better

Early English than his fathers had done. As for the land-
 Texts. lords who oppressed the tenantry, they
 Extra Series. were devilish, "and for their doings
 shall to the Devil go." For lucre's
 sake they got possession of the poor
 man's farm or copyhold, and forced "the silly
 poor man," his wife and children to go a-
 begging. The oppression of the cottager was by
 the taking away his "Close and Common, with
 Land in the Field," enclosing the same, and
 charging as rent for the "Old rotten house" and
 garden plot, just as much as "though he did the
 appurteances possess." We thus see how the
 process of adding field to field went on in
 Edward's days, only to wax more vigorous at the
 close of the eighteenth and beginning of the
 nineteenth century. And the mischief of it
 was, as this Priest said, the poor man could not
 help himself :—

Though some will object he is the more ass,
 So to bargain to bring him in thraldom,
 He can none otherwise bring it to pass,
 Else must he pay largely for his income.
 To settle himself place must he have some;
 His wife and children in like manner wise,
 Who for pure penury oft watereth their eyes.

Vorse 27-28. That the evil time was all too marked, we see in the fact, which this author states, that, by rent-raising, begging from door to door, not known till his time, had become common. The rich held farms and abbey lands whose rentals were £1,000 or more, flocks of thousands of sheep, oxen and neat cattle in great multitude, place and profit, with greed to procure more; while the poor man was, by reason of the high charge demanded, unable to hold a "cow lease, horse grass," or land for one load of hay. And withal, he dare not "speak or repine against his fell facts," because "for his talk his head all to-broken." Our reformer prayed the King to do his duty, and re-establish justice in the land, so that a labourer should be paid fairly for his work, lands be fully cultivated and built on, so as to make room enough for all.

THE EDUCATION ACTS ANTICIPATED.

Ch. 19.

If the suggestions of Tenant Right, and Fair Rents fixed by a Commission, be a curious instance of ideas propounded long before the nation was sufficiently advanced to receive them, yet more curious is Sir William Forrest's anticipation of the fit and proper scheme for elementary education in the land.

He advises the King to hold in detestation Early English idleness, the mother of mischief, which devours Texts. the fruit of honest labour, prevents all profit for Extra Series. labour, and begets in young persons a distaste for honest toil. As Kings and all who have governance have no time to dally with idleness, Forrest asks why loiterers should be allowed to live in their idle fashion. Hence he would have it proclaimed that any who sat in the ale-house "at mack, or at mall tables, or dice, or that cardes men call, or what other game out of season due," should be punished without any rescue. But as man's lot is to labour, and he should be fitted for this duty, he would have all children taught handicraft. This, he held, should be the rule for all children. They should, at four years old, be set to gather and learn some literature :—

By which they may after know their due debt
To Him that is author of each creature,
By reading in books his will and pleasure:
Moreover the schools should be free;
Lest some, perhaps, at this might thus object,
The poor man his child cannot so prefer,
Because he hath not substance in effect
For so long season to find his scholar
As (for his schooling) to pay his master:
To which I answer, it must provided be,
In every town the school to go free.

Verse 12.

To that end, the curate, or as we should say the clergyman, "whom to be idle were inconvenient beyond all other," even the worst of all, should bring up youth "to say, to sing, to write, that God to serve they after may delight." The parson should receive an honest stipend for his pains. After they have knowledge "indifferently so, to other arts then may they be preferred." To prevent their loitering, a school-officer, a townsman of good character, should be appointed "Controller to be called." This overseer was to be invested with authority to punish idleness, by "pain of stocks, or scourgings, which such may compel to earn their food, else to have no morsel." This controller was to be paid three or four pounds out of the town coffer as his fee. As time went on, custom and law must be renewed to secure good working. Moreover, such arrangements must be made as suit "soil and people," because

That will not serve here that serveth elsewhere,
Some have commodities, some less, some more.
Which doth the charges of the public weal bear
By merchandise conveyed here and there.

Verse 21.

Early English Texts. We are only now beginning to speculate how the Extra Series, young, so as to train hand and eye to work together. But here, in 1548—for that is the date on the manuscript presented to the King—we have a man who knows just what was wanted and how to set about it. This wisdom, however, was that of a man born out of due time, for at the only copy of the poem existed in manuscripts in the British Museum, until it was printed, in the year 1878, by the Early English Text Society, we may safely conclude that his words fell on deaf ears.

A famous fair.



Stourbridge Fair, which used to be proclaimed with great state both by the authorities of the University of Cambridge, and the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Corporation of the town, has, like many another great annual mart, fallen from its high estate. We have, however, on record some account of the fair, as it was down to the close of the last century, and can thus picture the famous old annual gathering for trade and pleasure. Such fairs are now so uncommon, save in Russia, that to read the old descriptions is as though we were perusing the story of the manners of some foreign folk. The record we glean from sources old and modern.

14TH CENTURY DEALINGS AT THE FAIR.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. We learn from the records in the Historical MSS. Commission Reports that the Guild of Corpus Christi, in 1348, bought at the fair of Stirbriche, for livery of the fellows, cloth to the value of £7. 8s. 4d., and cloth for the servants' livery to the value of 30s. 7d. The salt fish bought at the same fair, and the carriage thereof, cost 18s. 8d.

THE FAIR IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

Vol. 3. The Bowtell collection of manuscripts, which Page 321-3. —thanks to the love of a citizen, who about a hundred years ago rescued the documents from a lot of waste paper sold to a shopkeeper—are

now preserved at Downing College, give us Historical several items of interest regarding Stourbridge Manuscripts Fair. We there read that in 1515 Henry Dawys Commission paid 20s. "for the bothe called the Hors Lof [Horse-loaf, or Horse-bread]. Another booth of that year bore the sign of the Wolflesse. Rents of 6s. were taken "of a wif of Bury" for two booths; and 4s. of "a nother wif for an ale bothe" is entered four times in succession in the account. Suffolk men had their booths on "the Chapelle grunde" [at the east end of the fair]. In 1521 John Thirleby, one of the citizens, paid to the town authorities 8d. "for a kechyne belonging to the Cardenal Hatte" [a booth in the fair]. Thomas, son of this John Thirleby, was, in succession, Bishop of Westminster, Norwich, and Ely.

In 1523 there would appear to have been a sharp look-out at the fair, for the town accounts show various sums taken from a "vacabunde" dwelling in Lynn, 9s., from "a vacabunde having pokkes in his face," 3s. 4d., while there is a return of 6s. 8d., money found in the purse of a married woman—evidently she had been dishonest in more ways than one—and other sums of money recovered and wanting owners. Among the stray animals found are "a litell tidy horse hambling astray, price 6s. 8d., and "tew sorry horses, oon colour blake, thodir colour bay." A woman of Huntingdon is credited with the ownership of a "kyrtill colour roset," value 5s., which was given in charge of Mr. Mayor till applied for. In the same year there is record of one "Patryke Bryket, kendalmanne" [probably a seller of cloths of Kendal Green], having indentured to "ferme a nether bothe in the Duddery [or cloth fair] called the Stoke-fisshe."

In 1532 the town was visited by the Young Duke's players, by my Lord of Derby's players, by Mr. Brandone, "the Kinge's Jugguler," who exhibited at Mr. Hasyll's, where Mr. Mayor and others had a banquet at a cost to the town, amounting in all to 10s. 4d. When Stourbridge Fair came round, this jovial Mayor and his fellow revellers got another opportunity for enjoyment, as is evidenced by the following entries in the accounts :—

Item reward gevyn to the Kynges mynstrelles, at Styrrbridge Fayer tyme atte the commandement of Mr. Mayer, 6s. 8d. Item payd for ii loodes woode for gaudes, at the bone-fyer in Sturbriyge Fayer, made in certain places within the said fayer, 3s. 10d. Item payed for iii galouns wyne exspent at the sayde gaudes, 2s. 8d.

THE 18TH CENTURY FAIR.

Historical Manuscripts in which is set down the Commission.

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ARRANGEMENT OF THE FAIR.

Howland Nutting, who was staying at the Black Bear, Cambridge, being at the fair in the year 1711, made memoranda, among which we read of the booths being set in Cheapside, Soaper's Lane, the Duddery, Tounk Row, Timber Fair, Booksellers' Row, Broakers' Bow, Horse Fair, Hopp Row, the Fish Fair, the Town Lee Way, Garlic Row, and the Pewterers. Row. We also have mention made of the Dolestone, from which all admeasurements of distance within the Fair were estimated. Booths bearing the sign of the Eagle and Child, the Quart Pott, the Boot, the Sheepskin are mentioned in the book. There would appear to have been certain standing orders, one of which reads that "no bairiff shall let the Tolbooth in the Fair to any citizens of London, uppon paine of forfeit of ten pounds for every time, and to loose his liberty."

DEFOE'S PICTURE OF THE FAIR IN 1722.

Defoe's Tour.

Vol. 1.

Letter 1.

Daniel Defoe, who, as everybody knows, made his adventurous Robinson Crusoe sail away from Great Yarmouth, and, as is commonly asserted, took the name of the hero of his wonderful story from that of a trader who had descended from a Belgian settled in Norwich at the close of the 16th century, travelled through the Eastern Counties, in the year 1722, for the special purpose of writing a book. He mentions in this "Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain," that he had made in all 17 separate tours in the counties; but the book brought the narrative down to date. In the course of his journey he says he came, about the begining of September, through Stourbridge Fair, which was then in its height. The picture he draws is as vivid as are Defoe's pen and ink drawings of men, manners, and scenery. The "Tour through the Eastern Counties" is now available in Cassell's National Library, from which we quote:—

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This fair is not only the greatest in the whole nation, but in the world; nor, if I may believe those who have seen the Mall, is the fair at Leipzig, in Saxony, the mart at Frankfort-on-the-Main, or the Fairs at Nuremberg or Augsburg, any way to compare to this fair at Stourbridge.

It is kept in a large corn-field, near Casterton, extending from the side of the River Cam towards the road for about half a mile square.

National Library.
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THE ROWS OF BOOTHS.

It is impossible to describe all the parts and circumstances of this fair exactly ; the shops are placed in rows like streets, whereof one is called Cheapside ; and here, as in several other streets, are all sorts of traders, who sell by retail, and who come principally from London with their goods. Scarce any trades are omitted—goldsmiths, brasiers, turners, toy-shops, milliners, haberdashers, hatters, mercers, drapers, pewterers, china-warehouses, and, in a word, all trades that can be named in London ; with coffee-houses, taverns, brandy-shops, and eating-houses innumerable, and all in tents and booths as above.

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THE DUDDERY.

This great street reaches from the road, which, as I said, goes from Cambridge to Newmarket, turning short out of it to the right towards the river, and holds in a line near half a mile quite down to the river-side ; in another street parallel with the road are like rows of booths, but larger and more intermingled with wholesale dealers ; and one side, passing out of this last street to the left hand, is a formal great square, formed by the largest booths, built in that form, and which they call the Duddery ; whence the name is derived, and what its signification is, I could never yet learn, though I made all possible search into it. The area of this square is about 80 or 100 yards, where the dealers have room before every booth to take down and open their packs, and to bring in waggons to load and unload.

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This place is separated, and peculiar to the wholesale dealers in the woollen manufacture. Here the booths or tents are of a vast extent, have different apartments, and the quantities of goods they bring are so great that the insides of them look like another Blackwell Hall, being a vast warehouse piled up with goods to the top. In this Duddery, as I have been informed, there have been sold £100,000 worth of woollen manufactures in less than a week's time, besides the prodigious trade carried on here by wholesale men from London and all parts of England, who transact their business wholly in their pocket-books, and meeting their chap-men from all parts, make up their accounts, receive money, chiefly in bills, and take orders. These, they say,

o

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Library.
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exceed by far the sales of goods actually brought to the fair, and delivered in kind; it being frequent for the London wholesale men to carry back orders from their dealers for ten thousand pounds' worth of goods a man, and some much more. This especially respects those people who deal in heavy goods, as wholesale grocers, salters, brasiers, iron merchants, wine merchants, and the like; but does not exclude the dealers in woollen manufactures, and especially in mercury goods of all sorts; the dealers in which generally manage their business in this manner.

There are clothiers from Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield and Huddersfield in Yorkshire, and from Rochdale, Bury, etc., in Lancashire, with vast quantities of Yorkshire cloths, kerseys, pennistons, cottons, etc., with all sorts of Manchester ware, fustians, and things made of cotton wool; of which the quantity is so great, that they told me there were near a thousand horse packs of such goods from that side of the country, and these took up a side and half of the Duddery at least; also a part of a street of booths was taken up with upholsterer's ware, such as tickings, sackings, Kidderminster stuffs, blankets, rugs, quilts, etc.

In the Duddery I saw one warehouse, or booth, with six apartments in it, all belonging to a dealer in Norwich stuffs only, and who, they said, had there above twenty thousand pounds value in those goods, and no other.

Western goods had their share here also and several booths were filled as full with serges, duroys, druggets, shalloons, cantaloons, Devonshire kerseys, &c., from Exeter, Taunton, Bristol, and other parts west, and some from London also.

THE HOP FAIR.

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But all this is still outdone, at least in show, by two articles, which are the peculiars of this fair, and do not begin till the other part of the fair, that is to say, for the woollen manufacture, begins to draw to a close. These are the wool and the hops. As for the hops, there is scarce any price fixed for hops in England till they know how they sell at Stourbridge Fair. The quantity that appears in the fair is indeed prodigious; and they, as it were, possess a large part of the field on which the fair is kept to themselves. They are brought directly from Chelmsford, in Essex, from Canterbury and Maidstone, in Kent, and from Farnham, in Surrey, besides what are brought from London, the growth of those and other places.

The River Grant, or Cam, which runs close by the north-west side of the fair in its way from Cambridge to Ely, is navigable, and by this means all heavy goods are brought even to the fair-field, by water carriage from London and other parts; first to the port of Lynn, and then in barges up the Ouse, from the Ouse into the Cam, and so, as I say, to the very edge of the fair.

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In like manner great quantities of heavy goods, and the hops among the rest, are sent from the fair to Lynn by water, and shipped there for the Humber, to Hull, York, etc., and for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and by Newcastle even to Scotland itself. Now as there is still no planting of hops in the north, though a great consumption, and the consumption increasing daily, this, says my friend, is one reason why at Stourbridge Fair there is so great a demand for the hops. He added that besides this, there were very few hops, if any, worth naming, growing in all the counties, even on this side of the Trent, which were above 45 miles from London; those counties depending on Stourbridge Fair for their supply, so the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, and even to Stafford, Warwick and Worcestershire, bought most, if not all, of their hops at Stourbridge Fair.

These are the reasons why so great a quantity of hops are seen at this fair, as that it is incredible, considering, too, how remote from this fair the growth of them is, as above.

This is likewise a testimony of the prodigious resort of the trading people of all parts of England to this fair. The quantity of hops that have been sold at one of these fairs is diversely reported, and some affirm it to be so great that I dare not copy after them; but without doubt it is a surprising account, especially in a cheap year.

THE WOOL FAIR.

The next article brought thither is wool and this of several sorts, but principally fleece wool, out of Lincolnshire, where the longest staple is found; the sheep of this county being the largest breed. The buyers of this wool are chiefly indeed the manufacturers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and it is a prodigious quantity they buy. Here I saw what I have not observed in any other county of England, namely, a pocket of wool. This seems to be first called so in mockery, this pocket being so big that it loads a whole waggon, and reaches

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beyond the most extreme parts of it, hanging over before and behind, and these ordinarily weigh a ton or 25cwt. of wool, all in one bag.

The quantity of wool only which has been sold at this place at one fair has been said to amount to £50,000 or £60,000 in value, some say a great deal more. By these articles a stranger may make some guess at the immense trade carried on at this place, what prodigious quantities of goods are bought and sold here, and what a confluence of people are seen here from all parts of England.

I might go on here to speak of several other sorts of English manufactures which are brought hither to be sold; as all sorts of wrought-iron and brass ware from Birmingham; edged tools, knives, etc., from Sheffield; glass wares and stockings, from Nottingham and Leicester; and an infinite throng of other things of smaller value every morning.

TRADERS AND VISITORS.

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To attend this fair and the prodigious flux of people which come to it, there are sometimes no less than fifty hackney coaches which come from London, and ply night and morning to carry the people to and from Cambridge; for there the gross of the people lodge; nay, which is still more strange, there are wherries brought from London on waggons to ply upon the little River Cam, and to row people up and down from the town, and from the fair as occasion presents.

It is not to be wondered at if the town Cambridge cannot receive or entertain the numbers of people that come to this fair, not Cambridge only, but all the towns round are full; nay, the very barns and stables are turned into inns and made as fit as they can to lodge the meaner sort of people; as for the people in the fair, they all universally eat, drink, and sleep in their booths and tents; and the said booths are so intermingled with taverns, coffee-houses, drinking-houses, eating-houses, cook shops, &c., and all in tents, too; and so many butchers and higgleries from all the neighbouring counties come into the fair every morning with beef, mutton, fowls, butter, bread, cheese, eggs, and such things, and go with them from tent to tent, from door to door, that there is no want of any provisions of any kind, either dressed or undressed.

In a word, the fair is like a well-fortified city, and there is the least disorder and confusion, I believe, that can be seen anywhere with so great a concourse of people.

THE FUN OF THE FAIR.

Towards the latter end of the fair, and when the great hurry of wholesale business begins to be over, the gentry come in from all parts of the county round, and though they come for their diversion, yet it is not a little money they lay out, which generally falls to the share of the retailers, such as toy-shops, goldsmiths, braziers, ironmongers, turners, milliners, mercers, &c., and some loose coins they reserve for the puppet shows, drolls, rope-dancers, and such like, of which there is no want, though not considerable like the rest. The last day of the fair is the horse-fair, when the whole is closed with both horse and foot races, to divert the meaner sort of people only, for nothing considerable is offered of that kind. Thus ends the whole fair, and in less than a week or more there is scarce any sign left that there has been such a thing there, except by the heaps of dung and straw and other rubbish which is left behind, trod into the earth, and which is as good as a summer's fallow for dunging the land, and, as I have said above, pays the husbandman well for the use of it.

I should have mentioned that here is a Court of Justice always open, and held every day in a shed built on purpose in the fair. This is for keeping the peace, and deciding controversies in matters deriving from the business of the fair. The Magistrates of the town of Cambridge are judges in this Court, as being in their jurisdiction, or they holding it by special privilege. Here they determine matters in a summary way, as is practised in those we call Pye Powder Courts in other places, or as a Court of Conscience; and they have a final authority, without appeal.

GUNNING'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE
FAIR IN 1789.

Henry Gunning, Senior Esquire Bedell of the University, wrote in 1852 his "Reminiscences of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge from the year 1780." He had then passed his 80th year; but, as is not unfrequently the case, age had not dimmed his recollections of the events of his youth. He has preserved for the student of old time customs the following picture of Stourbridge Fair, as it was at the close of the 18th century—a worthy pendant to

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Gunning's Reminiscences.
Vol. 1.
Preface.

Gunning's
Reminis-
cences.
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Defoe's sketch drawn at the beginning of the century :—

PROCLAIMING THE FAIR.

On the 15th of September the ceremony of proclaiming Stourbridge Fair took place. At 11 a.m., the Vice-Chancellor, with the Bedells and Registry, the Commissary, the Proctors, and the Taxors, attended in the Senate-house, where a plentiful supply of mulled wine and sherry, in black bottles, with a great variety of cakes, awaited their arrival. Strange as it may seem, the company partook of these things as heartily as if they had come without their breakfasts, or were apprehensive of going without their dinners. This important business ended, the parties proceeded to the Fair, in carriages provided for the occasion. The proclamation was read by the Registry in the carriage with the Vice-Chancellor, and repeated by the Yeoman Bedell on horse back in three different places. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the carriages drew up to the *Tiled Booth* (which is still standing), where the company alighted for the dispatch of business—and of oysters; and passing through an upper room, which was crowded by a motley assemblage of customers, most of whom had been there for an early hour, they at length arrived at what was called "The University Dining Room." This consisted of a slip of a room separated from the other part by a wooden partition made of the rudest materials, which was about six feet and a half high, with two doors in it. Close to the end wall was a narrow bench; next that the table, formed from rough materials, and supported by tressels and casks. On this table, which had no cloth of any kind, were placed several barrels of oysters, with ale and bottled porter in great profusion. At this repast we were joined by numbers of Masters of Arts, who had formed no part of the procession, but who had come for the express purpose of eating oysters.

THE DONS' FEAST.

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This was a *very serious part* of the day's proceedings, and occupied a long time. We then left the *dining-room* that the waiters might remove the shells, and cover the boards with a cloth in preparation for dinner. That part of the room not appropriated to the University was by this time crowded almost to suffocation, and we had some trouble in getting to the open air. We took two or three turns in Garlick Row, and then

returned to the Tiled Booth ; but to reach the dining-room was a very arduous task. In vain did the Marshall, the Yeoman Bedell, the Proctors' and Taxors' men attempt to form a lane through which we might pass without obstruction ; in vain did the landlord of the *Tiled Booth* shout out, " Make way for the Vice-Chancellor and the University." Not a man made any attempt to stir, for with the peasantry (who on this day formed the majority of the company assembled), the University was highly unpopular. They seemed to enjoy the difficulties we had to encounter. Nor was it to be wondered at, for they had heard it *solemnly proclaimed* that every man would be punished who sold beer in any other mug than such as were allowed by the University; and as the mugs out of which they were then drinking were shamefully under the standard measure, they suspected that the dinner, of which we were about to partake, was paid for with their money. Of these suspicions the publicans took no means to disabuse them ; indeed, many of those who sold beer *actually believed* that the money they paid at the Commissary's Court was for a permission to sell short measure. At length, by a perseverance worthy of a better cause, we reached the dining room. The cloth had been laid and the dinner served up as soon as we quitted it ; and as *covers* were unknown at the *Tiled Booth*, the joints would have been cold if anything *could have been sold* in a climate intolerable even to a native of the Tropics. The scene which presented itself on entering the room I can describe most accurately, for the dishes and their arrangement never varied. Before the Vice-Chancellor was placed a large dish of herrings, and then followed in order a neck of pork roasted, an enormous plum-pudding, a leg of pork boiled, a pease-pudding, a goose, a huge apple pie, and a round of beef in the centre. On the other half of the table the same dishes were placed in similar order, the herrings before the Senior Proctor, who sat at the bottom.

From 30 to 40 persons dined there, and although the wine was execrable a number of toasts were given, and mirth and good humour prevailed to such an extent as is seldom to be met with at more modern and more refined entertainments. At about half-past 6 the dinner party broke up, and with scarcely an exception adjourned to the Theatre. Previously to this, however, a day (usually the 24th) was fixed for holding a Commissary's Court, and for repeating

Gunning's Reminiscences.
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the oyster-eating and dining I have just described.
The Corporation proclaimed the fair, and had their dinner also—[the procession of the Corporation was discontinued in 1790]—but it possessed this advantage over ours, that it was served at a private house where they were served with an abundance of venison and game, which at that time (as they could not be purchased), were considered great luxuries.

THE SIGHTS OF THE FAIR.

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Stourbridge Fair was, at the time I am now speaking of, a place of considerable importance, not only on account of the various trades that were carried on there, but as furnishing sights and scenes rarely to be met with out of the Metropolis. I will endeavour to describe it, and trust my memory will enable me to do so pretty accurately. As soon as you left Barnwell there was a small public-house on the right hand side called the Race-horse. Here the cheese fair began. From thence till you came opposite the road leading to Chesterton Ferry, the ground was exclusively occupied by dealers in that article. It was the great mart at which all the dealers in cheese from Cottenham, Willingham, with other villages in the county and isles assembled; there were also traders from Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, and Gloucestershire. Not only did the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties supply themselves with their annual stock of cheese, but great quantities were bought and sent up to London, the practice of supplying travellers being at that time scarcely known. In the neighbourhood of the Chapel, which is still standing [1851], there were about a dozen booths, called Ironmongers' Row: these, among a great variety of other articles, furnished the goods required by saddlers and harness-makers, together with every description of leather, in great abundance. One of the proprietors I perfectly recollect; his name was Rose. He resided in London, where he carried on a very extensive business. During the three weeks the fair lasted he lodged at Cambridge, and went to his booth every morning after breakfast, returning to a late dinner. He lived in a good style, kept a handsome chariot, drove a pair of very fine horses, and his servants' liveries were as handsome as those of any gentleman in the county.

Another row of booths, reaching from the

Chapel to Paper Mills turnpike, was called "The Duddery." These contained woollen cloths from Yorkshire and the Western Counties of England; but this part of the fair was beginning to be on Vol. 1. Ch. 5. the decline. There was also a very large piece of ground set apart for the sale of hops. A considerable part of the Common was occupied by earthenware and china from the Potteries, and by the coarser wares from Ely. On the left hand side of the road, leading from the Newmarket Road to the Ferry, was a row of booths extending to the Common; they consisted of silk mercers, linen drapers, furriers, stationers, an immense variety of toys, and also of musical instruments. At one of these booths I recollect that if you bought an instrument the proprietor undertook to give lessons upon it gratis. The most conspicuous person in the fair (and whose booth stood upon three times as much ground as the largest upon them) was named Green; he came from Limehouse, and dealt in tea, sugar, soap, candles, and every other article in grocery that housekeepers could possibly require. His goods were of the first quality, and he sold them as cheap as they could be bought in London; so that any family in Cambridge, or within thirty miles of it (who could afford the money), laid in their annual stock at that season. He was also an extensive dealer in pickles.

Gunning's
Remini-
cences.

LEARNED PIGS.

Besides the tradesmen there was the usual mixture of dwarfs and giants, conjurers and learned pigs. It was a common practice for some of us who were well acquainted with the University to enter into a confederacy with these conjurers, and with the owners of these learned animals, to give them a string of questions and answers, and to point out some mode by which they might discover the persons to whom the answers were particularly applicable. In consequence of this secret intelligence, the characters of the conjurers and the pigs stood higher at Stourbridge Fair than at any other place. Persons guilty of indiscretions, which they flattered themselves were known only to their most intimate friends, were astonished at finding that the sapient pig was acquainted with their proceedings, and pointed them out with but little hesitation to the assembled crowd.

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THE DRINKING BOOTHS.

There were a great number of drinking booths. One was on a very large scale, over the doors of

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Gunning's which was painted, "Quod petis hic est." In Reminiscences. this booth (if the weather was fine) men from the country, with their wives and families, used Vol. 1. Ch. 5. to feast on geese, pork, and herrings, luxuries that were to be had in great abundance, and which were served to perfection.

THE NORWICH COMPANY OF PLAYERS.

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There was a theatre on the spot where the Shakespeare public-house now stands; it belonged to the Norwich company, which generally comprised many respectable, and frequently very excellent, performers. Brunton was for many years manager. His performance of Shylock and Iago was highly applauded; his daughter and several of his relations were much distinguished on the London board's.

The performances continued for about three weeks; the house was generally well filled, and on some evenings crowded in every part, especially when the Lord Lieutenant, or the members of the town and University bespoke the play. Dr. Farmer never failed to be present except on Michaelmas Day, which was the anniversary of the foundation of Emmanuel, and which was always celebrated by a splendid dinner in the College Hall. On every other evening he, with his friends, George Stevens, Isaac Reed, Malone, and one or two others (whom Dr. Barnes used to designate the *Shakespeare Gang*), were accustomed to occupy that part of the pit which is usually called "The Critics' Row," and which was scrupulously reserved for them. They seemed to enjoy the play as much as the youngest persons present. They were the best natured and most indulgent of critics; and as these dramatic enthusiasts never expressed disapprobation, few other persons ventured to do so; but when they approved the whole house applauded rapturously. Dr. Farmer and his friends rarely left before the whole performance was concluded; the party joined loudly in the mirth which the fairies of those days never failed to produce, in the midst of which the hearty and very peculiar laugh of the Doctor could easily be distinguished. When the performance was over, they returned on foot, and adjourned to *Emmanuel Parlour*, where half-a-score persons were either waiting for them, or accompanied them home.

A Great Social Factor.

The philosophy of History, says Frederick von Schlegel, is the spirit or idea of history deduced from real historical events, from the faithful record and lively narration of facts; the pure emanation of the great whole—the one connected whole of history. This is the ideal of many modern historians, and of none more so than of one who died on January 4th, 1882, and of whom both England and America may be proud. This was Dr. John William Draper.

Philosophy
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Lecture i.

A MODERN PHILOSOPHER.

Dr. John William Draper was born at St. Athæneum, Helen's, near Liverpool, on the 5th of May, Jan. 14, 1811. He was sent as a boy to the Wesleyan Methodist School, at Woodhouse Grove, and afterwards he received private tuition in chemistry, natural philosophy, and mathematics. He studied medicine and chemistry for a time at London University College. In 1833 he emigrated to the United States, where many members of his family had settled at an earlier day. There he pursued his studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where he took his medical degree in 1836. His thesis was deemed so excellent that it was published by the Medical Faculty. Not long after graduating he was appointed Professor of Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and Physiology in Hampden—Sidney College, Virginia. In 1839 he removed to New York, and became Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in the university of that city. Two years later he helped to found the University Medical College of New York, in which he occupied the chair of Chemistry and Physiology. His connection with this college continued throughout the rest of his life.

DR. DRAPER AS AN AUTHOR.

Athæneum,
Jan. 14, 1882. All Dr. Draper's books owe much to their style. He paid special attention to the form in which he cast his thoughts, and there is a finish about his writing which is very pleasing.

Dr. Draper was a copious author. He began contributing to periodicals soon after taking his degree, and for many years after he was a frequent writer in the *American Journal of Medical Science*, the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, and other periodicals. Among his publications which were not anonymous, the first to attract general attention was a treatise on "Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical; or, the Conditions and Cause of the Life of Man." In 1860 he read a paper before the British Association at Oxford, which contained an abstract of the physiological argument, set forth subsequently, with the historical evidence whereon it rested, in his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe." This work was an attempt to treat the subject from a scientific point of view, and to show that the development of man in his social relation bore testimony to the progress and power of law. Indeed, Dr. Draper, in this work, as in his "History of the Conflict between Science and Religion," is always concerned to explain how far the advance of the world in scientific knowledge had affected its inhabitants, and how the key to the interpretation of the world's destiny is only to be found in the scientific method of investigation. He fancied that humanity was approaching a great disturbance or change, that a conflict was impending between effete creeds and formulas, and active and aggressive scientific truths; and he held that "much of the frivolous reading of the present will be supplanted by a thoughtful and austere literature, vivified by endangered interests, and made fervent by ecclesiastical passion."

In this extract from a notice inserted in the *Athenæum*, soon after Dr. Draper's decease, mention is made of two only of his treatises, in which history is examined to get at its spirit; and of the two, the greater work is much less known than is the lesser and more popularly written "The History of the Conflict between Science and Religion." Yet another of his works, "The History of the American Civil War," is found in but few of our public libraries. From its pages, and especially from the chapter entitled a

"Digression on the Origin and Progress of Individualism in the Anglo-Norman Race," we propose to illustrate how the modern philosopher gets at great truths by looking at modern history as a whole.

THE ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NORTH.

Dr. Draper compares North and South in the conditions of their settlement, and the physical influences that began to influence descendants of the settlers long before the outbreak of the Civil War. He finds in Individualism the governing principle of the North, each man pursuing his own welfare against all the rest, and thus establishing a political system powerfully progressive. But he does not fail to set forth what are the perils of this condition of mental activity.

In the North the population was in a state of unceasing activity; there was corporeal and mental restlessness. Magnificent cities in all directions were arising; the country was intersected with canals, railroads, telegraphs; wherever navigation was possible there were steamboats on the rivers. Companies for banking, manufacturing, commercial purposes, were often concentrating many millions of capital. There were all kinds of associations for religious, charitable, educational purposes—churches, hospitals, schools abounded! The foreign commerce at length rivalled that of the most powerful nations of Europe.

This wonderful spectacle of social development was the result of Individualism, operating in an unbounded theatre of action. Every one was seeking to do all that he could for himself. But under this splendid prosperity great evils lay concealed. The family tie was weakened, children left their home the moment they could take care of themselves. Life became an Arab warfare. The recognised standard of social position was wealth. No other criterion could be established, for all were originally on a level, and wealth became the only distinction. . . . Communities of this kind may become excessively wealthy, they may be stimulated into rapid improvement; but they are always liable to violent social oscillations. . . . A self-conscious democracy, animated by ideas of Individualism, was the climate issue in the North. In a cold climate, man maintains an individual combat with Nature and with competing men; he is every moment forced to make good his own ground. Hence he becomes self-reliant, and is

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Civil War,
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Ch. 11.
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History of American Civil War. Vol. 1. perpetually occupied in carrying out his own intentions. With his own hand he makes his own fortune. The self-working North feels itself in irrevocable antagonism to vicarious labour ; it detests negro slavery.

THE ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

Independence was, says Dr. Draper, the governing principle of the South : her political system Conservative, founded on the family. In Sec. 2. Ch. 11. the South, if the ostensible prosperity was less than in the North, the actual happiness was not inferior. Society was in a condition of repose. The planters were hospitable and proud. Unacquainted with the fictitious wants of civilisation, the people were content with their own lot, in their simplicity imagining that there was nothing better. The youth did not despise rural avocations and rush to the towns in pursuit of instant fortunes. . . . Like the monastic institutions of the Middle Ages, plantation life tends to distribute population evenly. . . . The agriculturist cannot hasten the processes on which he depends ; he must wait the slow movement of Nature and the seasons ; and hence, in his communities, there is less excitement, less anxiety, and less of the delirium of life. Not but that wealth will show even in such communities its inevitable tendency to concentration. In the South there were rich planters and poor whites ; families living in princely affluence, and others struggling for existence in penury.

Introduction, Page 21. An aristocracy, produced by sentiments of personal independence and based upon human slavery, was the climate issue in the South—an aristocracy sub-tropical in its attributes, imperious to its friends, ferocious to its enemies, and rapidly losing the capacity of vividly comprehending European political ideas.

THE RIVAL PRINCIPLES IN ENGLISH LIFE.

Sec. 2. Ch. 12. These political systems are, says our philosophical historian, the legitimate issue of what had been taking place for many centuries in England. So long as the principle of individualism was without force in England the nation was unprogressive. As soon as loyalty and ecclesiasticism, which alone in her earlier days governed her life, gave way to individualism, and every man was free to seek his own advancement, there was a rapid development. Her later political revolutions were the expression of that principle, as was like-

wise her religious revolution—the acceptance of the Reformation. It was the assertion of the right of conscience in the individual as against authority in the Church.

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This generalisation is supported by Dr. Draper by an examination of English history, first of the period of apparent social stagnation, which extended from the 5th to the end of the 16th century, and then by a setting forth of the wonderful material and intellectual development which followed on, after the awakening of the spirit of individualism. Dr. Draper shows that so long as Norman England was passing through her Age of Faith, under the guidance of Catholic forms, her training was altogether of a moral, not of an intellectual kind. Freedom of thought was sternly repressed. The intention was to prepare men for life in another world, not to render them prosperous and happy in this. But, as in this predestined development, the nation grew through its period of youth, and approached that of maturity—its Age of Reason—new sentiments began to be displayed. A desire of every individual to better his own condition became the characteristic feature of society. . . . Following on upon the discovery of America, and its consequent change of the commercial front of Europe, successful commerce led, in England, to a new distribution of population. Individualism was rapidly developed. Self-interest displaced loyalty. Wealth gained by mercantile ventures enabled the successful trader to buy lands of the embarrassed noble. A class of men steadily increasing in political power from that day to this, gradually emerged, trained by their pursuits to large and liberal conceptions.

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The active period of English History—its Age of Reason—commenced under the Tudor dynasty, a change in national character occurred. Incentives, appealing to morals alone, lost their force; intellectual education began, and to every man, no matter what his station might be, the road to fortune was open. Individualism was fairly established.

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Ecclesiasticism and loyalty carried our ancestors forward as far as they could, but the motion was very slow, the advance comparatively insignificant. It is only yesterday that physical science has been accepted as a guide, but we witness what it has already done. Ecclesiasticism tended to the controlling and governing of man; science sets him free. It favours the principle of individualism, inciting every one

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to seek his own advancement, and be the architect of his own fortune. In England, indeed as in all Europe, as soon as the artificial restraints of the old system were cast aside, and each person became an unshackled thinker and worker, the aggregate result, the national progress, was wonderful. No less wonderful has been the result on the American continent. Individualism, emerging gradually in the Middle Ages, receiving an impetus from the acts of Columbus and his successors, asserting its rights in the Reformation and in the English revolutions, allying itself to maritime enterprise, commercial undertakings, industrial art, has made the free states of the Union what they are.

Unquestionably the absolute freedom of action conceded to the individual is not without grave disadvantages. It may be doubted whether a community organised on such a basis, more particularly in case this freedom is granted to women, can ever have the stability, or ever be as moral as one in which the family is the essential political element. But that such a community will have a prodigious expansive power is undeniable.



Town and Gown at Cambridge.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission, in their earlier reports, set down many memoranda respecting the documents and old papers hidden in the recesses of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. Not a few of these illustrate life as it went on in the towns, and in those centres of light and leading, during a period extending over four centuries.

MASONS AND MASONS.

A sixteenth century record of the building of the Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is noteworthy for the light it throws on the confraternity of masons. In those old days, masons were distinguished as "rough masons" and "free masons." Cambridge having its guilds, it may be assumed that the term "free mason" had then its full trade significance of a man "free" of what we should now know as his trade society, and fully qualified to do first class work. This is something very different from the use now made of the term "freemason": the name has been preserved while the thing signified has become something very different from its old-time meaning.

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IN TROUBLous TIMES.

The Guilds of Corpus Christi and St. Mary at Cambridge were in existence in the year 1300, 29 Edward I., and from them the College of Corpus Christi had its origin. These associated bodies had their hundreds of members, traded, and made money by selling boars, pigs, steers, sheep, malt, bran, grains, and herbs from their fraternity's garden. Various persons, "for the saving of their soul," had given to the guilds, for the use of the College, certain houses, lands, and orchards. This property was the source of disputes when the troubrous times came, with Wat

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Historical Tyler as chief in London; and in Cambridge,
Manuscripts Edward Lyster the Mayor, and James de
Commission Grancetre [Grantchester] speaking the com-
plainings and grievances of the masses. The
Vol. 1. College petitioned the King in Norman-French
Page 65. to the following effect:—

"Unto our most dread Lord the King and his Council, supplicate the poor Chaplains and Orators, the Master and Fellows of the College of Corpus Christi, and the foundation of my most honoured Lord of Lancaster, in Cambridge—That whereas the Mayor and bailiffs and commonalty of the said town in this disturbance of late came with a strong hand to the said College, and then searched for the said Master and Scholars to kill them, and then pulled down their houses, and their goods and chattels, and muniments touching the said College, took and carried away, and many other grievances and damages committed—May it please our said Lord the King, and his Council, to order the said Mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, shall make redress and restitution of the said goods, chattels, and muniments, and amends for the said trespasses, for the sake of God, and as a work of charity; considering for certain that if they have not succour from your most gracious Lordship the said College is wholly undone."

The report says the alleged main cause of the ill-feeling thus manifested towards this college in particular was the rigid exaction, by the Society, of "Candle-rents," or rent-charges assessed upon many houses in the town for the finding of wax tapers, in return for the celebration, by the Masters and Fellows, of the obits of deceased brethren and sisters of the Guilds of Corpus Christi and St. Mary. The quotations we have already made from the guild regulations of Bishop's Lenn show how wide reaching the power of the College may have thus become. We may assume that the College Authorities did, as many in those days attempted, to set aside the small customary rent in money for a service in kind, and hence the riot. Another supplication, addressed to the King, asked leave to sell the houses which had not been burned in the citizens' rising, and also a license for the society to hold in mortmain. It would appear from the fact that the accounts of the College from 1352 to 1376 are missing, that the Mayor and his party burned them with the muniments and houses, and thus the King and his Council could not compel the offenders to make restitution.

BIBLE READING AT MEALS.

The Master of Corpus Christi, when the citizens' rising took place, was John Kynne. Of him it is recorded, in a small paper volume, in which College matters are set down from the year 1376 to 1470, that when the Parliament met at Northampton [A.D. 1380] he bought a Bible for the purpose of reading therefrom in hall at the time of dinner. College manners had altered considerably—may we not say, for the worse?—by the time of Charles II., if we give full weight to the next item :—

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STAGE PLAYS AT QUEEN'S.

A College Register, belonging to Queen's College, Cambridge, contains some curious entries of matters which are in strong contrast to College practices 200 years earlier. They have reference to the theatrical representations common in the University in the first half of the 17th century.

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Jan. 4, 1636. Taken out of the Treasury to be ayred. My Ld. Feilding's suit; a gray stuff suit; the Parasite suit; a green suit with red tape lace; Phœbus' mantle; 3 hatts; two Nuns' habits; 2 payre of shoes; 2 coates of stained callico; a pickadilly, a vizard, a payre of gaiters; bootes with red ribbons. Mention is also made of the gilt turkey coat; a white branch sattin doublet; and the tawny guilded coat.

AN APPROPRIATE QUOTATION.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a volume in which are recorded the doings of the Master and Fellows in Chapter assembled. The last entry in the book has been partially blotted out, but a contemporary thus narrates what this erasure signifies :—"John Munday, B.D., one of the Fellows of this College was the person whose name is erased above, and who was elected by the Society, August 4, 1626, to succeed Dr. Walsall in the Mastership: but his election being soon after made void, the wags of those times posted the following sentence on the College gate :—' *Sic transit gloria Mundi.*' "

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PRICES IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES.

The accounts kept by Master William de Okham, the Bursar [*comptosus*] of St. Peter's College, in the year 1388-9 are full of curious facts. There would seem to have been no stint of money for the purchase of wine, whether for the church or for the Hall. Thus we find 2s. 9½d. paid for 3½

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Historical manuscripts consumed in the church from the Feast of St. Michael to the Feast of Easter, the price being 9d. per gallon. Commission.

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gallons and one quart of wine consumed in the church from the Feast of St. Michael to the Feast of Easter, the price being 9d. per gallon. A gallon costing 8d. was consumed at the Easter Day communion. A further outlay of 2s, 4d. for four gallons, at 7d. per gallon, was made between Easter and the following Michaelmas Eve. The Mayor of Cambridge of this year—only seven years after the days when town and gown were at open war—we find visited St. Peter's on Michaelmas Day with some of the burgesses, and St. Peter's spent 18d. on 1*½* gallons of white wine for their entertainment. Master William Irby—one of the name had been bursar of the College in the year 1374-5—was welcomed by a gallon of white wine, costing 12d., being drunk in hall in his presence. Similar honour was done to Sir William Burstall on another occasion, the tipple being then 2 gallons, costing 18d. The feasts of the Church were apparently kept by wine drinking—the greater part of the 29s. 1*½*d., the bursar's expenditure in the Hall and in the Buttery being for wine. The accounts show that the rushes to cover the floor of the church cost 4s. for the year, and a like sum for the hall, and that 40s. was spent for 2,000 "segge" [sedge or rushes] for use on the College floors. The turf for heating and cooking for the year were bought, 40,000 of them, at 17d. per thousand.

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An inventory made a century later—at Michaelmas, 1488—at Pembroke College, enables us to complete the picture of a college hall and supper room: The furniture were "four tables with ther 8 trisles; four stoelettes for the hye table; thwo long formes for the secunde tables; thwo hangyng for the haull, on new of tapestry work, and another paynted cloth; thwo cupboards, on in the parlor [the Combination Room of to-day], and another in the haul; 2 chairs, on cownter, one forme in the parler; item, another longer forme in the parler; two andernes; two hangyngs of red say in the parler; a chyste in the parler, to lay the new hangyngs in." Sixty years later—in 1540—"a pryned Bible" was added to the list as appertaining to the hall.

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Salt fish, pepper, "ryce," spices, almonds, garlic, oatmeal, peas for pottage, and a bushel of grapes costing 8d., are mentioned among the stores bought for St. Peter's in 1388. The oatmeal cost 1s. and the peas 8d. per bushel, the rice 1d. the almonds 2*½*d., and the pepper 1s. per lb.

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Trinity College Bursar's Books give, under the

date 1338, a payment of 1d. to a man for pruning the vineyard, and 3d. for two days' work of a man in the kitchen garden. Straw, otherwise "segge," or sedge, and occasionally rushes, were common items of expenses for the hall. a barrow cost 8d., a grate 12d.

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Linen and canvas, for the making of table napkins and table cloths, are among the regular expenses; while diaper was used for long towels and table napkins. At Trinity College, Richard the Cook, in 1346, had the handsome payment of 6s. 8d. as part only of his wages; the "Letrix," or laundress, and the "Barbiton sor," or barber, each got 4s.; while Nicholas Maleforde, the gardener, who began at the same salary as his predecessor, Sir John the Gardener, namely, 6 pence a year, had it doubled in 1346.

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GIFTS FOR FAVOURS HAD OR TO COME.

Knives and wine were the most acceptable presents for gaining the good will of the great and their dependents in those days. In 1338 the Chancellor and Treasurer and the other Clerks of the Court were presented with knives costing 16s. 4d., though they did not disdain a present of pikes, eels, and haddock, costing 17d., any more than the Sheriff objected to a gift of two gallons of wine, costing 10d. In the year 1342 the Archdeacon of Norwich had a gift of wine costing 6d., and the clerks of the Bishop of Ely wine costing 3d. One Thomas Crosse had a present costing 6s., and his clerk got 6s.; Sir Ivo de Clyntone a gift costing 6s. 1d. John Chesterfield's gift took the form of a knife, costing 4s. 6d. A similar gift was made to Sir Jervase Baron Scale, whose clerks had knives given them costing 2s. The knives, pen-cases, and ink-horns given to friends at Court cost 18s. 2d. Sir John de Chesterfield got a pair of knives costing 6s. in the following year.

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TOWN GUILDS.

Members of the St. Mary Guild, which was in full working order 29 Edward I. [A.D. 1300], had to pay their footing in coin or kind. Thus one of the parchment rolls of the guild found among the Corpus Christi College records sets forth that Roger Wollemonger and his wife paid a fine of two quarters of malt on admission, and engaged to give the necessary supply of wax. Another fine paid in the same year was three quarters of barley with wax. William de Eytone, on his admission, in 27 Edward III., to the Guild of

Page 64, 5.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. Corpus Christi, in return for all the benefits thereof, resigned his benefice, the rectorship of the Church of St. Benedict, that the brethren might have an immediate opportunity of presenting to the same, and he further gave a tenement "which could be sold for £30," and "a garden, his own orchard, situate in Newenham . . . which garden could be sold for 13s. 4d." This guild would appear to have been mindful of the poor, for we read of a gift of one penny to a poor person at Grantcetre towards the King's tax ; but much more mindful of their own enjoyment, for in 1348 "the pipers at our feast" got 18d. Among St. Catherine's College papers is a paper Terrar or Terrier Book of the 15th and early 16th century. In this quarto volume are found the names of burgesses of Cambridge, and the statement of rents paid by them. One John Leete is set down as holding 4 acres 1 rood of land at a rental of one capon yearly, and suit of Court twice a year. The Alderman of the Guild at Coton held the Guildhall and its grounds on a payment of one penny and suit of Court : one John Cole holding in the same part of the borough 3½ acres on a yearly payment of a capon. "In the vill of Overe the Alderman of the Guild of the Blessed Mary holds one mes-susage called 'Le Gyldhall,' rendering yearly 3 cloves and suit of Court."

16TH CENTURY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

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A journal seems to have been kept by one of the University Bedels in the 16th Century, from which one William Bennett, Fellow of Emmanuel College in 1773—(Bishop of Cork in 1790, of Cloyne in 1794)—made extracts. The following is a curious record of University manners and customs in the year 1534, copied by Bennet from the Bedel's journal :—"Upon Shroffe Sunday, at night, there were 27 or 30 getters abroad from their Colleges, who made a proclamation on the Market Hill, and there asked a Banes [banns] between Ralph of the Bell and a burnt . . . of Jesus Lane; and that night they coursed the V. Chancellor's Depute, Dr. Buckmaster yn at the King's Hall Gate, and when he had gotten in he called them knaves, and they made answer if they had him without they would make him a knave. . . The same night was Parson Yaxley drinking at the Angel until nine o'clock, and in going then about the back door of Burdon Hostel, he lost his gown and his tippet ; and the next night

there was stripes given betwixt Mr. Alyson, of the King's Hall, and Symson, and either hurt the other with daggers very sore. The Sunday in the Cleansing week [week before Passion Week] the Warden of the Grey Freyers, Bachelor Disse, preached, and after the prayers he wasso abashed and astonished that he could neither say it by harte nor rede it on his paper, and so he was faine to come down from the pulpit with this protestation, "That he was never in that takinge before." St. Deny's night they came to the Vice-Chancellor, three or four score, getters abroad, knocking, and bid the Company "Come out knavys, cowards, and heretics;" whereupon the Company drove them away with stones and staves, and they cried fyre to fyre the gates, and they called a congregatyon. in this manner—"Congregatio Regentium tantum in Scholis publicis, gladiis et fustibus"—that night also, between 7 and 8, they got Mr. Polley, of Christ's College, out of the house by a train [device] and so bete him sore, and pulled off his hair; and Mr. Goldston, of Peter House for fear leapt over the College wall, and so came naked to Trumpington, for he thought verily, when he heard the noise, that the country had risen to destroy the University. The College Admonition Book mentions offences against good manners and good fellowship, which took the form of "unseemly and unchristian behaviour," calling his fellow "rabell," "provoking and rayling, and fighting in the kitchen." One Sir Fawther [a Pensioner], and one Driver, "for tarrying out of the college after the bell had rung, and after neene o'clock, as also for clyming over the walls with a lader thei borrowed of Munning's wyff" were admonished as was also "Sir Ducket for waring great ruffes, being before admonished by the master himself privatlie; and for negligence at prayers in the chappell."

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17TH AND 18TH CENTURY MANNERS.

It would appear from the "Register of Orders" of Clare College that the manners of University men had not much improved when nearly 200 years had passed since the foregoing record was jotted down. Thus we read, under the date December, 1718, that it was the practice of several scholars of the College to climb over the gates, and to go round by the pillars of the field gate. An order was made threatening expulsion "if any scholar shall presume to go out of or come into the College that way,

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Historical Manuscripts Commission or over the ditches of the College, or any other way than through the gates which are open, or if shut, through them when opened by the porter." Window breaking was then another form of enjoyment of the College scholars. Others would appear to have been delighted by affronting and insulting an aged Fellow, knocking at the door of his rooms, and generally acting like vulgar boys. This misconduct is, however, not to be compared with that of one S——n, a sizar of Emmanuel, who in 1653, was ordered "to recant publicly in the hall for idleness, drunkenness, stealing of a Bible, and climbing over the College walls"; or with that of a scholar named Scarborough, who in 1667, "for having been distempered with drink, and guilty of much idleness, did, in the presence of the whole College at dinner-time ask forgiveness upon his knees in the hall"; or with that of Sir T——d and Sir H——k, who when undergraduates, were "whipt in the buttery for foul miscarriage," and in April, 1669, were expelled by the Master with consent of all the Fellows, for excess in drinking and lewd conduct.

A 17TH CENTURY MAYOR'S NEW YEAR GIFTS.

Vol. 3. A MS. book, in the possession of Downing College, contains an interesting picture of borough customs. It is a list of presents sent to Mr. Rowland Simpson, Mayor, "against New Year's Day, Dec. 30th, 1665." The entries are as follows:—[From] Mr. Allen, 1 cagg of sturgeon; Mr. Chapman, 4 pullets and 1 goose; Mr. Tifford, 1 hinde quarter of veale and a chine of porke; Mr. Finch, 1 cock turkey, 2 capons, and 1 little sugar loaf; Mr. Crabb, 2 turkey cocks, 2 couple of rabbits; the Bayliffes and Tresorers, 24 bottles of sack [nothing given to their messangers]; Mr. John Bridge, attorney, 2 very good capons; Mr. Spalding, 1 sugar loaf, about 10lb. of sugar; Mr. Ewen, 2 small sugar loaves; my brother Hughes, one cagg of sturgeon; Mr. Hering, 1 large dish of figges. The several messengers who brought the presents received a gift varying from 2d. to 2s., the amount possibly measured by the position of the master.

PILLORIED FOR BARRATRY.

Penny Cyclopediad. There is an offence at law known as barretry, which, under the Act 21 George II., c. 3, is supposed to be punishable, if the offender be an attorney, solicitor, or agent in any suit or action, by transportation for a term of seven
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Page 495.

years. This statute is, however, a dead letter, for there can be no doubt that there are men who are encouragers of litigation, frequent excitors of suits at law, or, to use the old appellation, common barrators. In the year 1665 a Cambridge Attorney at law found that bartry was recognised as an offence. Alderman Newton (Mayor in 1671, and Treasurer in 1664) records in his diary, yet preserved at Downing College, that on Saturday, March 11th, 1665, "John Patteson, an Attorney at law, stood on the pillory, on the Pease Hill, in Cambridge, from about a quarter after 11 in the forenoon to about halfe an houre after 12 of the clock, haveing fastened to ye forepart of his hat, being on his head, a paper written in capital letters (a common Barretter) being sentenced by Judge Keiling at the said Assizes on Wednesday, the 8th March, 1664, to the said punishment for bartry."

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AN ALDERMAN OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

The John Newton, from whose MS. diary—quite Pepysian in style—the above extracts are quoted, was elected an Alderman of Cambridge in August 1668, and on the 18th of August signified his acceptance of the office. His diary shows what the being an Alderman meant in those days. Thus we read under date "June 16, 1668. Tewsday. The Mayor, Aldermen, and 24ty [four and twenty] went to Barnewell Abbey, according to custome, where they had 4 gamons of bacon and stewed prunes. The towne sent wine, the Mayor only went in his gowne, with the mace before him." Election as Alderman from the lower rank of one of the four and twenty Common Council required that due attention be paid to the outward and visible signs of eminence. Hence we read:—

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"August 20, Thursday. I bought of Mrs. Simpson, widdow, her husband's scarlett gowne and a plush-seated new saddle, with the bridle, foot cloth, and other riding furniture; for all which I paid her the day following 9*li.* in full; for which she gave me an acquittance, which is upon the file." "August 25th—I made my 24ty man's gowne serve for my Alderman's gowne, and paid Mr. Legg for 17 yards of lace for it, at 1*s. 6d.* per yard, £1. 5*s. 6d.*; for silk, 3*s. 6d.*; for facing the sleeves, 1*s.*; and for altering and setting on the tufts, 10*s.* I paid also to Mr. Scott, for 1*lb.* and a halfe and 3 ounces of Naples throse silk for the tufts, accounting the silk at

Historical Manuscripts charge of altering my gowne stood me in Commission, £1. 7s. per lb.—£2. 9s.; soe the whole
 Vol. 3. most in one room; the Mayor and Mr. New Elect sat at the upper end, and Mr. New Elect
 Page 327. sat next his wife on the side. At dinner wee had first 2 dishes of boyled chickens, then a leg of mutton boyled, then a piece of rost beafe, then a mutton pastry, then a glasse of clarrett round, then 2 couple of rabbetts, 2 couple of small white foule, and 2 dishes of tarts, 3 in a dish. This was the entertainment, and by this time it was 2 a'clock; so the Aldermen putt off their scarlett gownes and sent home for their black gownes, and went immediately to the Hall for the Common Day. First the Aldermen went into the parlour, and then, considering what was fitt to be expounded, all the Aldermen went into the Hall, and there with them, according to my juniority, I took my place uppon the bench. When Comamon Day was over, Mr. Addams and myself desired the Mayor, Aldermen, 24ty, and all other gownemen to go into the parlour, and the freemen to tarry in the Hall, to take a glass of wine, which they did. We had between us 14 bottles of sack, from the Miter, and then 3 quarters of a pound of tobacco, with pipes, candles, and 3 flaggons of beere, (for some desired to drinke beere)."

SCHOLARS—NOTABLE AND OTHERWISE.

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Trinity College Bursars Books show that in the year 1343 all the members, the "Custos," Warden, and Master excepted, were denominated "Scolares," and that their "vadia," or pay was 2 pence per day for each, out of which the Bursar had to find food, clothing, wages, and articles of clothing for servants, and turf for fuel. To Jesus College was given by its foundress, Margaret, Countess of Pembroke [temp. Henry VII.] the possessions of Creake Abbey in Norfolk: when the Abbot died, there were no surviving members of the Convent to elect another, and the Abbey was dissolved. One of its scholars was John Milton, admitted in the year 1624; his brother, Christopher Milton, was also a scholar at Jesus College. Gonville and Caius College, has been a favourite college of Norfolk men. Its founder (temp. Edward III.) Edmund de Gonville, Rector of Tyrington [now Terrington], Norfolk; its second founder William Bateman, born at Norwich, who removed Gonville Hall to

the neighbourhood of his then recently founded Trinity Hall ; and the third founder, Dr. Caius, [John Kaye, or Key] born at Norwich, graduated at Gonville Hall, studied at Padua, and a famous physician in England. Its matriculation book contains entries of Robinsons, of Crusos—the first of this latter name, son of a Belgian settler in Norwich in the early part of the 17th century—and of a member of the Quarles family. Titus Oates, of all too great notoriety, son of a Sussex Rector, was admitted a poor scholar of this college. The entry of Oliver Cromwell as a Fellow Commoner of Sidney Sussex College in the year 1616, is distinguished by a note, written in the latter part of the century, characterising him as an impostor, usurper, and tyrant. Under the date 1630 appears the entry of Thomas Fuller, who afterwards became the famous writer of the "Worthies," and equally celebrated as a divine. In 1639 there was entered Francis Quarles, son of the Francis who studied at Gonville and Caius College, and now set down as the Rector of Newton, in Suffolk. Edmund Calamy, afterwards eminent as a Nonconformist minister, was entered at Sidney Sussex in the year 1651 ; his brother, Benjamin, entered in 1661, was distinguished as a supporter of High Church principles.

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Commission,
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Upholders of Church and State were greatly offended in 1714, by some persons meeting together, on January 30th, in one of the Scholars' Chambers at Clare College, to eat a calves' head, "in contempt of the solemnity of that day." Seven of the Fellows accordingly resolved, and set their names thereto, "that whoever shall be guilty of the like praactice for the future, of what rank or order soever he shall be, shall be forthwith expelled from the College." On the following 30th January, however, Robert Swynborne, Scholar of the College, brought "unrequired, to the Dean, a copy of verses in which he dis- honoured and ridiculed the memory of King Charles the First." It was ordered by seven Fellows that he make a public recantation of his fault, and subscribe the same.

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A FRESHMAN'S FOOTING.

The Register Book of Magdalene College, under date 8th December, 1679, has an entry signed by the newly-appointed Master and nine Fellows regulating the footing to be paid by freshmen. The record says that "of late yeares

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Historical divers vitious and disorderly customes have, by
 Manuscripts the petulancy and presumption of some looser
 Commission. Schollers, been introduced into this College,
 Vol. 5. tending notoriously to ye idle expence of time
 Page 483. and money: to wit, excesse and quarrelling, and
 all this to ye manifest corruption and debauchery
 of youth, and so to ye just scandell and offence
 not onely of ye present society, but of many
 worthy persons formerly members of ye same,
 and utterly strangers to such loose and idle
 manners in their time." It was accordingly
 ordered that no Sophister or scholar should
 demand for Sophisters, cheese above 12d. of a
 pensioner, and 8d. of a sizar, and that
 no scholar after or at his first ad-
 mission, offer or yeld to pay more, and that he
 pay it in cheese to be equally divided among the
 parties according to the former custom and
 privilege: that no freshmen treat or entertain
 his chamber fellows either by eating or drink-
 ing. "That no schollers give or receive at any
 time any treat or collation upon account of
 ye football play, on or about Michael-
 mas Day, further than Colledge beere or
 ale in ye open hall to quench their
 thirsts. And particularly, that ye most
 vile custome of drinking and spending money,
 Sophisters and Freshmen together, upon ye
 account of making or not making a speech at
 ye football time be utterly left off and extin-
 guished . . . That no seniors dare to hale
 or compell any his juniors, at ye time of ye
 yeare, eyther in ye Colledge or out of it, to give
 them cherries, berries, or any other expence
 of fruit whatsoever, nor set others on to do it.
 That those sottish and even savage tricks of
 grubbing, salting, mustarding, and ye like,
 rarely used by any but rakehells and dunces, be
 utterly disused and abolished."

A POOR'S BAG.

Vol. 4. Emmanuel College was designed by its Puri-
 tan founder for the education of youth "in all
 piety and good learning, but especially in sacred
 and theological learning," and the oath taken
 by Fellows, described "the true religion of
 Christ" as "contrary to Popery and all other
 heresies." The Fellows would appear to have
 remembered the practical part of Christianity,
 for among the payments out of the
 Poor's Bag—the money collected at the
 Sacraments in Chapel and devoted to "dis-
 tress'd objects" we find the following:—"The
 Porter to pay his surgeon, £3. 3s. To 7 persons
 of the same family who had lost 11 limbs by a

mortification, £2. 2s. Mother of Chaterton, alias Historical Rowley, the Poet, £1. 1s. Two Franciscans Manuscripts from Calabria who suffered from the Earthquake, £1. 1s. John the Porter's man for attempting to save a drowned man, 5s. To poor Wm. Stephenson, distrained by King's College for rent, 10s. 6d. To a man ruined by two Attornies £1. 1s. Two other of the entries are curious: Given by mistake, £1. Lost out of bag, 7s. 6d.

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READ OR SPOKEN SERMONS.

Benet's Register of Emmanuel College contains copy of a singular letter from James, Duke of Monmouth, Chancellor of the University, dated Newmarket, December 8th, 1674, in reference to long hair and extempore preaching. Charles II. had noticed that persons in Holy Orders wore their hair and perukes of an unusual and unbecoming length, and that the practice of "reading sermons is generally taken up by the Preachers before the University, and sometimes continued even before himself." It is his Majesty's pleasure that the Preachers "deliver their sermons both in Latin and English by memory or without books."

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The Rev. Henry Gunning's Reminiscences relate principally to members of the University, in their public doings, and more especially their individual peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. But there are pictures of Town and Gown life, as witness the following gleaned from his volumes:—

Gunning's
Reminis-
cences.

BI-CENTENARY OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

On the 22th of September, 1784, Emmanuel College celebrated the 200th anniversary of its foundation. The entertainment, says Henry Gunning, in his Reminiscences, was of the most superb description. Several lively turtles were to be seen in tubs of water at the Master's Lodge, where the people were allowed for some days to gratify their curiosity with a sight so novel at Cambridge. Upon this occasion (and which was ordinarily the custom in those days) there were many amateur singers amongst the members of the University. Dr. Randall, professor of music, who shone as much in convivial as in musical talent, was called upon for his celebrated song in the character of a drunken man. The representation was so faithfully given that Mr. Pitt was completely deceived, and thinking him to be actually the "Great Sublime" he drew, expressed much anxiety lest the worthy professor

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cences.

should meet with some accident when leaving the College. My father, who related this anecdote to me also remarked that Pitt was the life and soul of the party; and although my father possessed the true Johnian feeling with regard to Townshend, he added that he was not at all surprised at Pitt having been returned the preceding April at the end of the poll; for his idea of the social talent of the Premier exactly accorded with the description given by Lord Euston, who was so frequently in the habit of meeting him in those small parties of his intimate friends, in whose society he seemed to forget the cares of office.

CHARLES SIMEON AND THE UNDERGRADUATES.

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Page 144-5.

In 1786 the Rev. Charles Simeon, of King's [a well-known evangelical clergyman] preached for the first time at Great Saint Mary's, respecting which event I quote the following passage from his biography :—

"The greatest excitement prevailed on this occasion. St. Mary's was crowded with gownsmen ; and at first there seemed a disposition to annoy the preacher in a manner at that period unhappy not unusual. But scarcely had he proceeded more than a few sentences when the lucid arrangement of his exordium, and his serious and commanding manner, impressed the whole assembly with feelings of deep solemnity, and he was heard to the end with the most respectful and riveted attention." In 1792, he observes, "At first, and indeed for several years, the keeping order in my church was attended with considerable difficulty. The novelty of evening service in a parish church at Cambridge attracted some attention. In the college chapel it was no novelty ; but in a parish church it conveyed at once the impression that it must be established for the advancement of true religion, or what the world would call Methodism. Hence it is not to be wondered at that it should be regarded with jealousy by some, and with contempt by others, and that young gownsmen, who even in their own chapels showed little more reverence for God than they would in a play-house, should often enter in to disturb our worship."

For many years (I speak from my own personal knowledge) Trinity Church and the streets leading to it were the scenes of the most disgraceful tumults. In vain did Simeon, with the assistance of persons furnished with white wands, exert themselves to preserve order in the church ; in vain did Professor Farish, who, as Moderator,

was well known and popular with the undergraduates for some years before and after he was Proctor, station himself at the outside door to prevent improper conduct to the persons leaving the church ; and, though one undergraduate, who had been apprehended by Simeon, was compelled to read a public apology in the church, the disturbances still continued. But before the apology was read by the young man, Mr. Simeon made this prefatory address to the congregation :—

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" It is with extreme concern that I now call your attention to a circumstance of a very distressing nature. The greater part of you who are here present have been frequent witnesses of interruption which we have experienced in public worship. We have long borne with the most indecent conduct from those whose situation in life should have made them sensible of the heinousness of such offences ; we have seen persons come into this place in a state of intoxication ; we have seen them walking about the aisles, notwithstanding there are persons appointed to show them into seats ; we have seen them coming in and going out without the slightest reverence or decorum ; we have seen them insulting modest persons, both in and after Divine service ; in short, the devotions of the congregation have been disturbed by almost every species of ill conduct ; yet I have exercised forbearance, till those of the highest respectability in the University have justly blamed me for it. I have been adverse to make an example, nor is it without the greatest reluctance that I now call forth a young man of liberal education to make a public acknowledgment. But the necessity of the case requires it ; my duty to God, my regard for the welfare of immortal souls, yea, my concern for the honour of the University, compels me to exert myself, and to call in the aid of higher powers. Nothing, I can truly say, could be more painful to me ; but I hope and trust that this one example will prevent the necessity of any other in future." The offender then read the following apology :—

" I _____, of _____ College, in this University, sensible of the great offence I have committed in disturbing this congregation on Thursday last, do, by the express order of the Vice-Chancellor, thus publicly beg pardon of the minister and congregation ; and I owe it only to the lenity of Mr. Simeon, that the Vice-Chancellor has not proceeded against me in a very

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different manner, for which lenity I am also ordered by the Vice-Chancellor thus publicly to acknowledge to Mr. Simeon; and I do now promise never to offend in like manner again."

A large portion of Simeon's congregation consisted of peasantry from the neighbouring villages, where, with but few exceptions, the services were performed in a careless manner; the comfort and ease of the ministers appearing to be their first consideration. If the Sundays proved wet, Dr. Drop (a cant phrase signifying there would be no service) did the duty.

A BESETTING SIN.

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It was extremely fortunate that when duelling was so prevalent in the higher circles of society it was not in the University considered *essential to the character of a gentleman* to have fought a duel. At this period intoxication might be considered the besetting sin of the University, and in Term-time scarcely an evening passed in which quarrels did not take place, which, in the fashionable world, must inevitably have produced duels. Challenges were repeatedly given, and accepted over-night, which were never attended with fatal results, for when the parties and their friends met next morning it was never considered derogatory for the offending party to declare that he was quite unconscious of having uttered the offensive words imputed to him; but that if he had done so he was ready to make such an apology, as, in the judgment of those who remembered them, might be deemed satisfactory. This was considered quite sufficient apology, and they shook hands and parted as good friends as ever.

UNFORTUNATE DISSENTERS.

Page 276-7. Almost every evening during the latter part of the winter of 1792 there were riotous assemblages, and the windows of many of the Dissenters were broken. A very numerous mob collected one evening, who, after breaking several windows, did great injury to the meeting-house. They were headed by two chimney-sweepers under whose directions they proceeded to the Market Place, and attacked several houses, endeavouring to burst open the doors. This was prevented by the interference of some Masters of Arts (amongst the most active of whom were several Fellows of St. John's), who came to assist the magistrates of the town. By their united exertions the rioters were dispersed, but not until after the Riot Act had been read. Mr.

Salmen, a Fellow of St. John's, exerted himself with great effect, frequently exposing himself to considerable personal risk. The Rev. George Whitmore, tutor of the above College, thought more favourably of the conduct of the mob. Addressing his pupils next morning on the subject of the riot, he expressed a hope that none of them had joined in the disturbance, which he was pleased to designate "A LAUDABLE EBULLITION OF JUSTIFIABLE ZEAL!!!" Two men were afterwards convicted at the Town Sessions for a riot and attacking the Meeting-house, and were sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment. An attempt was made in the University and town to represent those who differed from Mr. Pitt as enemies to the Constitution. Associations were formed against Republicans and Levellers, the resolutions against them were expressed in very offensive language, and all those who declined signing them were stigmatised as enemies to their King. The Dissenters (as a body) were included in that number, and I remember Sir Busick Harwood (who had until within a very short period, professed himself a Whig), made the following remarks:— "In general, every man ought to be considered honest until he has proved himself a rogue; but with Dissenters, the maxim should be reversed, and every Dissenter should be considered a rogue, until he had proved himself to be an honest man." A grocer named Gazam was reported to have uttered seditious expressions. The mob constructed a figure to represent him: a halter was put about his neck, and was affixed to a gallows. This was carried to the door of all *good subjects*, and those who did not subscribe were considered deficient in loyalty. I happened to be standing with some of the Fellows of Emmanuel at the college gate when the effigy was exhibited. We were joined by the Master, who laughed heartily; he gave the men who carried it 5s., and desired them to shake it well, "opposite Master Gazam's house." In the subsequent winter the proceedings of these mobs (whose watchword was "Church and King!") were so outrageous that several Dissenters, of whom Gazam was one, consulted their own safety by leaving Cambridge for America.

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cences.
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KEEPING UP AN OLD CUSTOM.

It had been the custom for many years for the Vice-Chancellor to preach a sermon at Burwell on Mid-lent Sunday, and to dine with the tenant,

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cences.
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The University is possessed of a considerable estate there, consisting of the glebe lands and the great tithes of the parish ; they are also patrons of the Vicarage.

On the night previous to my being summoned by the University Marshal to accompany the Vice-Chancellor to Burwell, a very heavy snow had fallen ; but notwithstanding this (added to the execrable state of the roads), the villages of Bothsham and Swaffham were crowded with people, who did not in these days scruple to come from a distance to see "a coach and four." The Marshal, who had filled his pockets with half-pence for the occasion, amused himself with throwing them into the snow, and we laughed heartily to see the scramble for them.

When we arrived at the Devil's Ditch, two strong cart horses and their driver (belonging to the tenant) were in waiting, and we had several spare traces in the carriage. At this point we quitted the road altogether, and went across the ploughed lands. There was no longer any danger of overturning, but the six horses were obliged to exert themselves to the utmost to keep the carriage in motion. At length we stopped at the Vicarage, where we stopped and had some refreshment ; and then proceeded to the church, a very noble edifice, and filled almost to suffocation by persons who had come (notwithstanding the badness of the day) to see a Vice-Chancellor. After the sermon we proceeded to the old Manor House, situated about three-quarters of a mile from the church, and on the very edge of the Fens. We were conducted into a small parlour, and in a few minutes were told that dinner was on the table. The repast was of the most ample description ; three huge fowls were at the top of the table ; at the bottom was an enormous sirloin of beef ; on one side, a huge ham of excellent flavour ; on the other side, a pigeon pie ; and in the centre, an unusually large plum pudding. The only guests in the upper chamber consisted of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Turner (the Vicar), myself, and Mr. Dunn, the tenant. The beer was excellent. After dinner wine was introduced. The port was as good as ever was tasted, and the tenant circulated the bottle very briskly. I confess that I did not consider the Clerk, who came to say he was going to chime, a welcome visitor ; and the Sexton, who came about a quarter of an hour afterwards to say the bells were ringing, was, I believe, very unwelcome to us all. We got into the carriage (which was ordered to wait for us

at the gate), and went to church, where the Vicar read the prayers. The excellence of the tenants' ale was apparent, not only in the red faces of the Vicar, the clerk, and the sexton, but also in the vigour with which two or three officials, furnished with white staves, exercised them whenever they found any of the children inattentive. Not contented with showing their authority over the younger part of the congregation, one of them inflicted so heavy a blow on the head of a young man who was sleepy, that it resounded through the church. The person thus distinguished started up, and rubbing his head had the mortification to find all his neighbours laughing at his expense; to use a fancy phrase, "he showed fight," and I believe he was only restrained by the presence of the Vice-Chancellor (who rose to see what was the matter) from giving the peace-officer a hearty drubbing. We had rather a perilous journey back to Cambridge, being very nearly upset before we reached the high road.

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cences.
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Page 12.

My Last Will and Testament.



A man or woman's "last will and testament" Early English usually interests the individual who has expectations that he has been remembered therein. The will read and administered, the interest of the individual ends. Thenceforth, the will is added to the store of information which the nation accumulates for the benefit of future generations. How great may be the value of wills, as illustrating national, county, and family history, or the social and economic condition of the generation to which the will-maker belonged, is seen by Mr. Fredk. J. Furnivall's transcript of Fifty Earliest English Wills in the London Court of Probate. These date from A.D. 1387 to 1439. These old English wills have been published by the Early English Text Society. Before one can hope to get at the true signification of the deposited records, however, we must know what the England of those remote days was like. Here are two pictures from the pens of modern writers.

Texts,
Original
Series 78.

SOCIAL CONDITION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

History of American Civil War. Vol. 1. Ch 12. Page 213-4. became Pope Pius II., visited England and Scotland. Of one of the most influential Italian families, familiar with the highest contemporary civilization, a great officer of the Church, engaged in a mission of much responsibility, a keen observer of affairs, and, like many others of his countrymen, though an ecclesiastic, a man of the world, his observations and remarks are of the utmost value, To his eye the people among whom he journeyed were in a semi-barbarous state. In the north, the houses, in what were called cities, were built of stones put together without mortar; the roofs were often of turf. The cottages had no other door than a dried and stiffened bull's hide. In Scotland, the forest peasantry lived on the coarsest food, often on the bark of trees: bread was accounted a rare delicacy. Over the border, in England, it was but little better. From one of the monasteries where he had lain—in the monasteries good living might always be found—he had brought a supply of bread and wine, The English women gratified their curiosity by breaking the bread into fragments, and handing it to one another to smell and giggle at. With no little graphic effect, he relates the adventures of a night spent with a hundred women, sitting in the smoke of a blazing chimneyless fire, spinning hemp.

At the end of the twelfth century, the houses of the mechanics and burgesses in London were of wood, thatched with straw, or covered with reeds. In the country the cottages were constructed of stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with wattles, plastered with mud, and covered with flakes of bark or the boughs of trees. Society had at that time become separated into two portions, a rich and a poor, without any intervening middle class. The baron and the ecclesiastic engrossed all that was worth having. They left the fen to the peasant. The death-rate was fearfully high, and during many centuries the population remained in an almost stationary condition. A shiftless agriculture furnished sparing supplies of food; hence there was an unceasing check on the number of births. Autumnal fevers, originating in hundreds of miles of undrained marshes, spread a periodical desolation through the cabins. The lot of the

lower—the labouring classes for many ages had undergone no amelioration ; their health and social happiness were equally uncared for. In a political sense they were only animals, valuable for what their work could produce. They were expected to manifest loyalty to the King and obedience to the Church. They could not better their condition. There was no career open for them—except to the grave.

THE DOMESTICITIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Professor Thorold Rogers provides the next picture, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices* :—

In mediæval times the lords of the manors resided in the manor-houses, when in the rural districts. As might be expected, the furniture of the manor-house was scanty. Glass, though by no means excessively dear, appears to have been rarely used. A table put on tressels, and laid aside when out of use, a few forms and stools, or a long bench stuffed with straw or wool, covered with a straw cushion worked like a beehive, with one or two chairs of wood or straw, and a chest or two for linen, formed the hall furniture. A brass pot or two for boiling, and two or three brass dishes ; a few wooden platters and trenchers, or more rarely of pewter ; an iron or latten candlestick ; a kitchen knife or two, a box or barrel for salt, a brass ewer and basin, formed the movables of the ordinary house. The walls were garnished with mattocks, scythes, reaping-hooks, buckets, corn measures, and empty sacks. The dormitory contained a rude bed, and but rarely sheets or blankets, for the gown of the day was generally the coverlet at night. A reviewer remarks on this passage :—The 19th century presents as great an advance in food products—in quantity, quality, and variety—as it does in other commodities. The artisan of to-day has a greater variety of food, is better clothed upon the whole, although some of his garments may not be as costly, and is better washed than the noble of mediæval times. Our meanest domestics would scorn to live in such surroundings as satisfied the mediæval aristocracy in their manor-houses.

THE WILL MAKERS.

The first condition of the making of a will needs must be that the testator owns something of value, as to which he expresses his wish. Hence no one would expect to discover the will

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Agriculture
and Prices.
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Page 294.

- Earliest English Wills. of a man in so wretched a position as were the English Wills. labourers in the middle ages. The trader in the towns, the landowner, the well-to-do, are those who made wills, and who are thus something more than a name to us. The oldest of the 50 wills, copied by Mr. Furnivall, bears the date 1387. It is the will of Robert Corn, "Cetesyn of london," who dwelt in the parish of "Our lady of abbechirch"—one of the S. Mary's in London—burnt in the Great Fire of 1666, and rebuilt in 1686. The next will is that of another citizen, a jeweller, made in 1392. The will itself is written in French, but his charities are set down in English. Next we have a lengthy will—that of Lady Alice West, of Hinton Marcel, Hampshire—a most valuable document. In the early years of the Page 1. 15th century, we have wills of landowners and other well-to-do occasional residents in London: Sir Wm. Langford, Knight, Sir Roger Salwayn, and others, Esquires, whose estates lay in Berkshire, Devon, Hereford, Shropshire, Yorkshire, and other English counties. Among the Page 3. ladies, whose testaments we may read, are the Dame Isabell, Countess of Warwick—the mother-in-law of the "Kingmaker"—Lady Peryne Clanbowe, of Yasor, in Herefordshire, Alys Chirche, widow, of St. Mary Hill, London, who desired to be buried at Twickenham, Isabel Gregory, of Hackney, who directs that her body "be beryit in sent Austyn's cherch-hawe, of Hakeney;" and Margarete Ashcombe (once Bloncit), widow, who was "beredyd anenest the charnell of Poules, in Poules chircheyard, betwyn toe trees, nere by the berieill of my hus-bonde, sumtyme called John Bloncit." Other will-makers were members of London trade-guilds: John Plot, citizen and maltman; Robert Aneray, of the Cordwainer's Company; Richard Yonge, brewer; William Davy, fishmonger; Page 4-10. John Toker, vintner; Richard Whyteman, wax chandler; Richard Graveley, grocer; William Page 18, 52. Mangeard, cook; Nicholas Charleton, skinner; and Roger Elmersley, "servant sum-tyme with John Bokeley, wax chandler, of London.
- Page 116-119. Page 49-51. Page 85. Page 91-2. Page 96-7. Page 14-17. Page 21, 67. Page 77, 81. Page 86. Page 94, 112. Page 100.

"FOR THE GOOD OF THE SOUL."

Upon the fact that bequests for the good of the will-maker's soul is the rule, the exceptions being few, and those few found in the testaments of men who could themselves write, Mr. Furnivall remarks:—"The most surprising and regrettable thing in these wills is the amount of money shown to have been wasted

in vain prayers, or orders for them. Fancy one man ordering a million masses to be said for his English soul ; another 10,000, another 4,400, another sending pilgrims to Spain, Rome, Jerusalem, &c., for the good of his soul ! I only hope some sensible executors handed over the money to the testators' wives and children or to the poor." One cannot refrain from smiling at the business-like fashion in which the priest when preparing the will remembered No. 1, which in his case was represented by his fraternity or other "religious" corporation. Thus in the earliest of the wills we read, "Also to the werkes of our lady of Abbechirch xx s. Also to the Brethered of our lady of Abbechirch xx s. Also to everi prest that ys of this chirch ijs. Also to the twey clerkes that bene in the chirch, euerich of hem ijs. . . Also y be-quethe to the werkes of poulys vjs. viij*z*. And also wat godes that leut to-ward me, y will that it be do of masses and of almes-dedes there most nedful ys." This testator had willed to one of his daughters xx*s*. One half of his property, in short, he bequeathed to himself, to be spent in masses and alms, of which the former had the lion's share allotted. This is a specimen of what went on in England just 500 years ago. But the good fathers had sometimes to do with people who wanted value for their money : as witness Lady Alice West's bequest of £48. 10*s*., to say 4,400 masses "for my lord Sir Thomas Westis soule, and for myn, and for all Cristene soules, in the most hast that it may be do withynne xiij nyght next after my deces." What a mockery of prayer ! Contracted for to be supplied, 315 a day at 3*d*. each. Thomas Walwayn, Esq., ordered that 10,000 masses be said for him "of gode prestes with all hast, and my dette payed, and restitucion made there eny wronge may be Ifounde be donn (as I trust to god but litull)." Richard Bokeland, Esq., was the man who gave the big order—it reads a thousand thousand masses at fourpence each ; but it is probable he only meant 2,000. In addition, he wille^d 20*s*. a year for five years to the Friars Preachers, to the White Friars, the Grey Friars, and the Austin Friars. Other gifts, which were more truly charitable, include sums of money for the prisoners of the Fleet, of the Marshalsea, of the King's Bench, of Ludgate and Newgate ; gifts to "the seke peple beyng yn the spittell houses ;" and to the leper houses. Pilgrimages were costly luxuries, for Sir Roger Salwyn's deputy going to Jerusalem is set down for £100. Another was to receive, of William Newland's goods, 10*s*. for going barefoot from the Earliest Wills

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Earliest "Swerd," in Fleet Street to Canterbury. While a English Wills. pilgrim who was to ride to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall was to receive 20s.

GIFTS TO THE POOR.

- Page 1. The poor and needy were seldom forgotten, after Mother Church had been duly remembered. Robert Corn, in 1387, bequeathed 10s. to "the most nedful men and women that ben in the parche." John Girdeler, in 1402, bequeathed a penny to a hundred " pouere men and wommen " in the parish, on the day of his interment; and fourpence each, for the love of God, to six score poor bed-rid men and women, wherever such might be found in Westminster, on the day of his burial. Stephen Thomas, of Lee, Essex, in a codicil to his will, made at Rouen in 1418, supplements his previous bequest of 12d. to every poor man and woman of Lee—but should any such poor person owe a heavy debt then he was to receive 20s.—by a direction to his executors to brew 10 bushels of malt, to give to the poor men of his parish, and to bake six bushels of wheat, in small half-penny loaves, so that every poor man and woman might have a loaf and a gallon of ale, " als for als it will go." We read of John Olney's bequest, to five poor men, that need bedding, in the country next about to Weston Underwood, "to euery off heme I couerlcte, I wytele [blanket] I chete [sheet], xijd. off siluer, preyng for my soule, and for ye soules beforaside." Ye another charity was that of Lady Peryne Clanbowe, in 1422—one-half of the residue of her goods to her poor tenants, the other half to "god men faithful, and ned y that ben in disse." William Hanyngfeld, Esq., of Essex, who was also a Suffolk landowner, ordered lands to be sold to provide 2 priests, who, for 40 years, were to sing for his and his relatives' souls, and also during the space of 10 years to give four lepers four marks yearly.

FOR THE GOOD OF THE COMMUNITY.

- A few of the will-makers had some thought for the community as a whole. This is seen in bequests for the repair of highways:—"John Girdeler's 40s., for the mending of the highway between Hillendon and Acton; Lady Peryne Clanbowe's bequest of £10 to amend bridges and foul ways; Robert Schapman's 6s. 8d. 'to hie weys'; and similiar bequests for specified parishes. Wm. Hanyngfeld, Esq., on his part, willed six marks (£4) to build a splendid bridge of stone over the River Laver, in Essex, 'in

esement of the comyns, if hit so be that no man be bounde by his londe to make hit.' Roger Flore (or Flower) of London and Oakham, will- maker in his own handwriting, and consequently not so wasteful of his goods to the priests, after remembering his old servants, goes on to say that if the vault, or embowed roof, of Oakham steeple be not made during his life, the which he had covenanted of with Thomas Nunton, mason, to give him five marks for the workmanship, of the which he had paid him a noble on earnest, he willed that the same covenant be fulfilled of his goods after his decease as soon as his neighbours will appoint for the materials that shall go thereto, of the which materials Richard Oxenden had paid to Fairchild, quarrier, 13s. 4d. for freestone.

Earliest English Wills.
Page 58:9.

LAND WILLS.

Mr. Furnivall says the land wills are interesting, as showing how all the land of the Kingdom was in the hands of Trustees, feoffees, to whom every buyer had his land conveyed—either solely, or jointly with himself—to evade the rights of forfeiture, wardship, &c., of feudal lords. These feoffees are constantly prayed to do their duty to the Testator, and carry out his Will, either by entailing his land on his sons, or conveying it to such folk as his Executors sell it to. Executors are likewise entreated to be faithful, as if they'd answer for their acts on the Day of Doom. And that this injunction was often needed in early days may be gathered from the old saying, "Three Executors make Three Thieves."

Page XII.

BEQUESTS OF BELONGINGS.

We can form a good idea of the value of wealthy folks' belongings by an examination of their wills. Thus, Lady Alice West bequeathed to her son Thomas "a bed of tapicer's work, with all the tapites of sute, red of colour, yþouthered with chapes and scochons in the corners, of myn Auncestres armes—the stoffe longyng thereto, that is to seye, my beste fetherbed, and a blue caneus and a materas, and twey blankettys, and a peyre shetes of Reynes, with the heued [coloured] shete of the same, and sex of my best pilwes, whch that he wol chese, and a bleu couertour of menyuer, and a keuerlet of red sendel yþouthered with cheuerons [chevrons]."
Thomas got also the fittings of the bed, a pair of Matins books, a pair of beds, and a ring. Joan, his wife, got the bed "paled black and white,"

Page 4-6.

Earliest the second-best feather bed, mattresses, bed-English Wills. clothes, &c., a silver basin with bosses in the border, and a silver chaufour [warming dish or saucepan]; a mass book, and all Lady Alice's books "of latyn, englisch, and frensch;" all the vestments of her chapel, altar cloths, "a chales", a paxbred, and a hali-water pot, with the sprengles, twey cruetis, twey chaundelers, twey silver basins for the auter, with scochons of myne auncestres armes, and a sacrynge belle and alle of silver." Joan also got the old lady's chair, and her chariot with two standards covered with leather, which served as the harness. Elinor, Lady Alice's daughter, got a tawny bed of silk, and its proper suite, with the third-best featherbed, can-vass mattress, and bed furniture; also a silver round basin. Lady Alice's waiting women each got a bed "convenable to her estat. Similar bequests are common. We also find bequests of cattle—a dun bullock to one, a red bullock to another; milch kyne to be divided between the widow and the heir; brass and latten pots, spits and iron racks or gridirons, pewter vessels, and candlesticks of latten. The will of Roger Elmesley, the wax chandler's servant, is one of the most rich in detail, because of the fondness he had for his godson, Robert Sharp, to whom he wills many a little article, besides most of his household belongings, which included "a litil tabel peynted trestel-wise; also a litil Ioyned stoll for a child, and a nother Ioyned stoll, large for to sitte on whanne he cemeth to mannes state; also a prymmer for to serve God with; also little cofur to putte in his smale thynges." This will bears the testator's monogram and a seal. Most others are declared to be sealed.

Page 101-2.

Mr. Furnivall remarks that it is pleasant to see testators anxious to make amends for all possible wrong-doing, and to watch the owners of horses bequeathing them by name:—Grey Butler, Grey Manley, show that a man cared for his four-footed friends. But no dog is named in any will. Servants often are, both men and women; and in one case a Nun is left money for looking after a testator in his sickness. One wife is called her husband's most trusty friend, another has all his property left to her; but in other cases, the testators do not seem quite comfortable about their widow's future. . . . Several testators had the good sense to order plain funerals, and to recognise that pomp was a vanity that didn't help their souls.

Page XIV.

Fairs and Fair Customs.



The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls have, with their First Report, given to the public a valuable paper on Charters and Records relating to the History of Fairs and Markets. This bears the signatures of Mr. C. I. Elton, Q.C., M.P., one of the Commissioners, and Mr. B. F. C. Costolloe, an Assistant-Commissioner. The appendices, too, are full of interest. Especially so that which calendars the grants of Markets and Fairs in the interval between 1 John (A.D. 1199) and 22 Edward IV. (A.D. 1483):—a list copied from a manuscript volume preserved in the Public Record Office, and known as Palmer's Index, No. 93. A few gleanings from this Blue Book will supplement our previous papers, on Markets and Market Tolls, and on Stourbridge Fair.

Royal
Commission
on
Market Rights
and Tolls.

THE ORIGIN OF FAIRS.

Lord Coke, in his Institutes, commenting on cap. xxiv. of the Statute of Westminster the Second, says that fairs are included in the enactment there made "*de mercato*," "for every fair is a market, but every market is not a fair," and he derived the word from *forum*, which he said signified both a market and fair, a *mart* being "a great fair holden every year, derived *a merce*, because merchandises and wares are thither abundantly brought, and *mercatus* is derived *a mercando*." The Report, on the other hand, derives the word from *feria*, the proper ecclesiastical term for a Saint's day. The feasts or wakes of the patron saints of the villages or districts may in some cases represent a continuation of pagan festivals, allowed to survive from motives of public policy. In this connexion we may refer to the celebrated letter of Gregory the Great to Miletus in A.D. 601, in which he directs that "some solemnity" must be provided for the English people in ex-

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- Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls. Vol. 1. change for their former celebrations, "that they may build themselves booths from the boughs of trees about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples." The combination of religion, pleasure, and business was made the more popular by provisions for proclaiming a special truce, spoken of in the Domesday account of Dover as the "*Treva regis*," or "peace of the fair." The report supports this view of the origin of fairs by citing the fact that, by old custom, fairs were held in the churchyard of the church dedicated to the saint, till the practice was restrained by the Statute of Winton, 13 Edward I., c. 6. Early English laws show that down to the year A.D. 906 Sunday marketing was common. A law of Edward and Guthrum then provided for a forfeit of the chattel bought, a fine of 12 ores from the Dane, or 30s. from the Englishman offending. A similar forfeit, and fine of 30s. was enacted by Athelstan in 925. It may be assumed, from what is known of the Saxon custom, that this Sunday traffic went on in the churchyard. The Abbot of Abingdon, in 14 John, being summoned to show by what right he held a fair at Salingeford, asserted that from the time of the Conquest a wake had been held, but he admitted that buying and selling went on. This was also the plea of the Abbot of Beaulieu. Both Abbots apparently supposed that the not claiming to take toll or other custom sufficed to differentiate a wake from a legal fair. The Hundred Rolls, however, show that in the early years of Edward I.'s reign the wake had become a recognised fair. Fairs in England would seem to have been of small value until after the Conquest and their constitution on the Continental model.
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- Page 2, 54.
- Page 4.

THE GROWTH AND DECAY OF FAIRS.

The development of foreign trade under the Plantagenet Kings led to the increased importance of the system of annual fairs. Goods could be procured at the fairs which were not to be had at an ordinary town market, and as the growth of trade progressed faster than the improvement of the means of communication, the value of fixed centres of periodical exchange was great.

The Report mentions several important fairs granted by Henry I. to the greater churches. The first of these is a grant of a fair at Canterbury on the day of St. Augustine's Translation, September 13th, to last five days. Similar grants were made to Abbots, Priors, or Monas-

teries, at Rochester, Winchester, Malmesbury, St. Alban's, Bath, and Ramsey. The Royal Charters of Henry I. may, says the Report, be taken as a specimen of the whole Norman period. The number of Fair Charters granted by John in the first year of his reign was at least 40, and over 460 are preserved issued during the ten years from 2-11 Henry III. Similar charters continued to be issued down to 55 George III. But degradation and decay would appear to have set in in many cases long ago. The great marts, as Professor Thorold Rogers says, in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," degenerated into scenes of coarse amusement, and after being granted and protected as the highest and most necessary franchises have been tolerated, for the sake of their traditions, and are now being generally suppressed as nuisances."

Six Centuries
of Work and
Wages.
Page 147.

The last and most fatal blow to the system of Market Rights Fairs was dealt by the Abolition of Fairs Act, 34 and 35 Vict., c. 12. This Act is one of a long series which had its beginning with the Statute of Winton 13 Edward I. before mentioned. This was followed by two Acts, 2 and 5 Edward III., the former respecting the Proclamation of the Fair by the lord; the latter as to the end of Fairs, after which hour it was punishable to sell wares. These, by 27 Henry VI., c. 5, which enacted that Fairs and Markets shall not be kept upon Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, All Saints, Good Friday, nor any Sundays, the four Sundays in harvest only excepted, which exception was repealed by 13 and 14 Vict., c. 23. The first Parliament of Philip and Mary prohibited retail sales by country people, except in Fairs—a prohibition that was only ended by 19 and 20 Vict., c 64.

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That fairs in old times were not regarded as Matthew Paris' record regarding a new fair which Henry III. established at Westminster in October, 1248. This fair was proclaimed to last a full fortnight, during which time all other fairs in England were forbidden, as was also all traffic usually carried on in London, both in and out of doors. Matthew Paris says the merchants exposing their goods for sale there suffered great inconvenience, as they had no shelter except canvas tents, and owing to the changeable winds which are usual at this season, suffered from cold and wet, and hunger and thirst; their feet were soiled with the mud, and their goods rotted by the rain. And when they sat down to their

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Matthew Paris meals there, those who were accustomed to take their meals by the fireside in the midst of their own household, knew not how to endure this state of want. This fair was also held in 1252 with like vexation to the Londoners.

PRIVILEGED BY CHARTER.

Charters gave certain privileged persons or Corporations great advantages, which, fortunately for the traders of this generation, have lapsed. Several such charters are set out in the appendices to this Report, enabling us to realise what a hindrance to the ordinary trader, settled in a town or district, a chartered fair or market necessarily became in the course of years.

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A Charter of Aetheldred, Duke of Mercia, and Aethelhaed, to the See of Worcester, date between A.D. 873 and 899, and drawn in English, reserved to the King [Alfred] and the Witan of the land of Mercia the wain shilling and the load-penny, and gave one-half all other rights on the market [Ceapstowe] or on the streets, whether within the borough or without, to God and St. Peter and the lord of the church at Worcester, for the maintenance of the foundation and the better conduct of God's worship there. The rights included land fee, theft fines, fines for false dealing, murage, and all customs from which profit arise.

Edward the Elder in the year 904 gave to the See of Winchester, by Charter written in Latin, "the liberty of the Monastery, which the Saxons call Taunton," its townships, fields, woods, pastures, meadows, and fisheries, together with the town market, "which in English is called the town's chcaping," and all the town dues.

In like manner Edgar, in or about the year A.D. 960, gave, by a Latin Charter, to the Church of Peterborough "the vill of Oundle with all its rights and neighbourhood, in English, called Eahta hundred, together with its market and toll, with such a privilege that neither the King, nor the Earl or Bishop, or any greater or lesser person shall, ever seize it into his ownership, nor presume to transfer it to any place whatsoever from the vill of Oundle, where it ought to remain . . . We also constitute a special market in Burgo [Burch], so that no other shall be held between Stamford and Huntingdon, and we give to it and order to be paid there the whole of the toll without any contradiction, viz., first from all parts of Witelsmere as far as the King's toll at Normanscross, and from Witlesmere as Moredale cometh to the water of Nen, and thence as the water flows."

A Charter granted by Henry II. to the burgesses of Nottingham confirming to them those free customs which they had in the time of Henry I.—“ tol and theam and infangenethoef and the lonea [toll] from Thrumpton to Newark, and of all things crossing the Trent, as fully as in the borough of Nottingham; and on the other side from the brook beyond Rempston to the water of Retford in the north. Moreover the men of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire ought to come to the borough of Nottingham on Friday and Saturday with their wains and pack-horses; nor ought any one within a radius of 10 leucae [leagues] of Nottingham to work dyed cloth except in the borough of Nottingham.” Residence of a year and a day, without claim, in time of peace, gave freedom; and quiet possession of land for a like term gave an undisputed title. All who came to the market were also free from restraint from Friday evening to Saturday evening, the King’s ferm only excepted. In or about the year 1189 John, Earl of Mortain, son of King Henry II., further gave the free burgesses a merchants’ gild and quit them of toll [*thelonea*] throughout all the Earl’s land, within and without fairs.

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REGULATING A CHARTERED FAIR.

The Report contains translations of two interesting documents, in which are set forth the regulations of fairs. The first of these is an agreement, of the date A.D. 1300, between the Prior of Lenton and the burgesses of Nottingham respecting Lenton Fair. The Prior on his part gave a pledge that there should be no attempt to obtain authority to hold the fair longer than eight days from the eve of St. Martin, foregoeing four other days which Henry II. had added to that term. Further, it was agreed that “ Cloth merchants, apothecaries, pilchers, and mercers of the community of the town, who wish to hire booths in the fair of Lenton shall give for each booth covered with the covering of the prior, or of their own proper covering, 12d., for as long as the fair lasts, and each of them, according to his condition, shall have a booth amongst the other stranger merchants, to wit, the best among the best, and the middle-class among the middle-class, the smaller among the smaller, excepting those selling ‘ blacks ’ and accustomed cloths, and each of them shall give 8d. for a booth covered with their own proper covering or not covered. And all others who may desire to hire booths shall give for every booth 8d., excepting those selling iron, and each of them who may

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Market Rights desire to hire a booth and occupy land shall give Report. for the booth 4d., and if he do not occupy Vol. 1. land each of them shall give 2d., so that tanners and shoemakers who do not occupy land shall be quit of covered and un-covered stalls, and from all action pertaining to stallage. And be it known that each booth shall be of the measure of eight feet in length, and eight feet in breadth. . . . All from Nottingham passing through Lenton in fair time with carts, waggons, and pack horses shall be quit of toll and all cus'oms." In return for these privileges, the Mayor and burgesses granted to the prior and convent of Lenton a building in the Saturday market for ever, and engaged that "no market shall be held within the town of Nottingham so long as the fair of Lenton lasts, that is to say, for eight days, of any description of merchandise, except within houses and in doors and windows, not selling bread and fish and meat and other victuals, and leather, except in houses, doors, and windows."

Page 91-93. A Charter of Edward III., granted in the year 1349, in confirmation and enlargement of the privileges of St. Giles' Hill Fair, Winchester, is set forth in the Report as translated by Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Winchester. It gives in full detail the regulation for the sixteen days' Fair. During the fair the Bishop appointed his own Justiciars, styled the Justices of the Pavilion, who not only heard and determined all causes arising in the City, the Fair, and the surrounding district, but also for the time being superseded by the Mayor, Bailiff, and City Authorities. The keys of the city gates were formally delivered to the Justicars at sunrise of the vigil of St. Giles' Day, warders appointed, and proclamation made at the west gate in this form:—"Let no merchant or others for these sixteen days within the circuit of seven leagues round the place of the fair, sell, buy, or set out for sale, any merchandise in any place other than the fair, under penalty of forfeiture of the same goods to the use of the Bishop." The full signification of this was that during the sixteen days nothing might be sold in the city, nor even in Southampton, which was beyond the seven league limit, under penalty to the Bishop. To ensure obedience, on the first day of the fair the Justiciars, or their deputies, moved, from their usual places of business in the city, all sellers of food, with their victuals, to appointed spots outside the city, where only they might sell. All bakers, butchers, and fishmongers of the city had to repair to the pavilion, and from among them the

Justiciaries appointed the most competent, law-
ful, and discreet men to serve those who
came to the fair, with wholesome, useful, and
sufficient victuals, swearing them in for the
purpose. Victuals, however, might be sold in
Southampton. At sunset, the marshal rode
through the fair, directing the closing of the
stalls, and thenceforward to the next sun-rising
no persons were allowed to move about in the
fair. The Justiciaries further were authorised to
enter the city, and "prove, assay, and taste, one
by one, all casks of wine for sale in the city, be
they where they may, and if they find any
mixed or stale, or unwholesome, they shall draw
them out of the cellars, knock off their heads,
and heavily fine the innkeepers or owners, the
fine being paid to the Bishop." No "c cobblers,
tailors, or other craftsmen, or artificers of the
city," might ply their trade outside the fair. The
tolls were fixed. Those received from strangers
included four basins and four ewers, by
way of fee "from those from foreign parts
called 'Dynamiters,' who sell brazen vessels in
the fair." The burden which this fair laid on
the citizens must have been well nigh intolerable,
the tolls being heavy when measured by
the purchasing power of pence in those days.
Similar restrictions on trade prevailed in Here-
ford during the Bishop's fair there.

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That there was complaining is evident
from the record of a plea before the
King's Court, 2nd Edward I., in the
county of Sussex. The Jurors found that
Nicholas, the bailiff of William de Bruce, by
order of the said William, forbade his men of
Shoreham from selling victuals to Robert
Agillun or to his men, or from admitting them
to any buyings or sellings in the town. This
early evidence of boycotting was met by Robert
recovering for damages one mark. A corres-
ponding act at Debenham, in Suffolk, in 12th
Edward I., whereby Ermintrude de Sankeville,
Joanna, the wife of Adam de Cokefeld, and
Roger de Aspheale were hindered from using
their market in any place where it might please
them within the manor, cost Ivo de Renedon,
Peter his son, and four others, 40s. damages and
loss of their liberty.

THE TOLLS.

The St. Giles', Winchester, tolls are set forth
in the Charter. These tolls were levied on all
goods for sale, by guards placed during the fair
term at towns and bridges which were on or
near the borders of the liberty of the seven

Page 93.

U

Market Rights league circuit, and also at the city gates. The Report. Vol. 1. Page 93.

Bishop took a certain established portion of every cartload of firewood or charcoal, a halfpenny for every horseload of corn, a farthing for every burden of corn carried by a man, two pence for every cartload of corn, a farthing for every truss of hay or straw. For every stall for the sale of bread, in the top of the High Street of the City on Sundays, a halfpenny. For every bale of wood sold by license of the Justiciars within the city walls, for the Bishop's weigh money four-pence; and for the weighers' fee a penny from the seller and a penny from the buyer. On goods brought to the fair for sale the Bishop levied tolls: 2d. for a bale of avoirdupoys, or a pack of mercery, or for a small pack carried by a man, 4d.: for every piece of whole wax, 2d.; for a falcon, 1d.; a ferret 2d.; an ape, 4d.; a bear, 4d.; a dealer, 4d.; a cask of wine and cider, 4d.; a raw hide, 4d.; of 13 geese sold one of them. Bread offered for sale short of its proper weight, in the city or in the fair, was forfeit, and the baker put in the pillory, or fined.

ROYAL GRANTS OF FAIRS.

The transcript of Palmer's Index, No. 93—the manuscript volume previously referred to—is most valuable to local historians. It brings within their view the important part which markets and fairs played in the trade and commerce of the country from the year A.D. 1199, 1 John, to A.D. 1483, 22 Edward IV.

The first grant of a fair mentioned in this calendar is that of Bristol, the next Lambrey in Surrey, and this is followed by that of Doncaster, Buttorecombe, Cottingham, Annerton, and Hovedon, all in Yorkshire. Ipswich in Suffolk, Langley in Norfolk, Felton in Northumberland, Morpeth in Cumberland, Strete, Stratford, and Winchester, also dated from this 1st year of King John. The total number of markets and fairs contained in this calendar is 2,740. Of these very few survive to our day. The list perhaps will be said to owe no little of its present day interest to its preservation of the old forms of names of towns and villages, or for keeping in remembrance villages or manors whose names have otherwise dropped out of men's knowledge. The troublous days of Henry III. seem to have been most fruitful of the privileges which the great ones of the nation obtained by a grant of fair or market, no fewer than 1,300 grants dating from this reign.

The Report says:—There was everywhere Market Rights great jealousy of a profitable monopoly by the Report usurpation of new trading privileges. Whenever Vol. 1. any grant of a new market or toll was solicited Page 21. from the Crown it was necessary to inquire by a jury or a writ *ad quod damnum*, whether the grant was prejudicial to the King or to others in case it should be made, and the charters of grant were framed with a saving clause to protect the interests of the owners of neighbouring markets. The same rule applied to fairs. A verdict that a new fair was set up by the Abbot of Reading was “to the nuisance” of a fair previously in existence was followed by a judgment “that the fair be wholly quashed.”

Popular Mediæval Politics.

Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun's oft-quoted sentiment, “If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation,” is a popular way of saying that politics in verse cannot fail to reach the ear and the heart of the mass of the people. This has been the opinion of Englishmen from a very early time, and some entertainment may be found in noting how it has been applied. We have to go back to the days of the troubadours if we would see the beginning of this popular mode of teaching. Their verse, however, recounted the deeds of the great ones of the earth, to whom politics—the affairs of the community—were things of small account. A sufficient idea of these early attempts to teach and amuse by reciting, or singing jingling verses, can be had by a perusal of the 4th and 5th sections of Thomas Warton's “History of English Poetry.”

Of Political Songs, properly so called, among the earliest are those which were born of Henry III.'s misgovernment, and the Barons' War. Mr. Thomas Wright, in 1839, editing for the Camden Society, first gave us a collection of these outbursts of song on political and social evils. There are

Mis-rule of
Henry III.
Page 155.

Mis-rule of Henry III.
Page 26.

fifteen versifications of the popular feeling, one of which is in English, some are in Provencal, some in French, some in Latin, some half English, half French. The Rev. W. H. Hutton, in one of the excellent little volumes "English History by Contemporary Writers," says of these verses: "Some were songs, no doubt, for the people, sung by the wandering minstrel, who found welcome everywhere; but most are the composition of the clergy."

THE SONG OF THE CHURCH.

Page 26.

Mr. Hutton quotes two verses from one of these early songs, referring his readers to Mr. Wright's book, above mentioned. Of course the language is put into modern dress:—

Camden Society Political Songs.
Page 43.

Free and held in high esteem the clergy used to be,
None were cherished more, or loved more heartily;
Enslaved now, betrayed, brought low,
They are abased sore
By those from whom their help should come;
I dare no more.

King and Pope, alike in this, to one purpose hold,
How to make the clergy yield their silver and their gold.
This is the sum, the Pope of Rome
Yields too much to the King,
To aid his crown, the tithes lays down
To his liking.

A LAMENT FOR ENGLAND.

Simon de Montford and his Cause.
Page 99.

Mr. Hutton quotes, in the volume of the Contemporary Writers Series which is devoted to "Simon de Montfort and his Cause," a fine rendering by Mr. Gairdner of William of Rishanger's Chronicle of the year A.D. 1259. The following quotation from this translation gives us a vivid picture:—

Gairdner's Political Songs.
Page 261.

So languishes our common weal, the land is desolate,
And foreigners grow mighty on the ruin of our State;
Our native Englishmen are scorned as men of low estate,
And still must bear with injuries that no tongue dare relate.
The soldier and the churchman both are dumb as any stone;
The right of speaking freely is for foreigners alone,

Not two among a hundred of us English hold
our own,
And all that we maintain is grief and shame
and bitter moan.

Gairdner's
Political
Songs.
Page 261.

Great nobles, who have pledged your faith, as
ye are English lords,
Keep firmly to your plighted troth, defend it
with your swords.

If aught the land may profit by your counsels
and accords,
Let that be done and quickly which ye have
ordained in words.

If that which ye have now begun ye steadfastly
maintain,
The object ye so much desire ye surely may
obtain,
Of long deliberation, unless an end ye gain,
It truly may be said of you, your labour is in
vain.

To you the highest honour will redound, when
all is o'er,
If bearing your devices, England freely breathe
once more ;
And may God Almighty's mercy from the plague
she suffers sore,
Soon redeem our wretched country, and sweet
peace to her restore.

We have in the poem, of which this is a part
only, the ideas, which, though coming down to us
in Latin, must have been the common property of
the English-speaking part of the community, to
whom practical politics were of the first import-
ance. Another song, of the year 1264, had as
its theme Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of
the Romans, the brother of the King Henry
III. He had once been the hope of the English
people, but now he had come to be hated ; to be
spoken of as a cheater, the refrain of the song
being—

Richard, though thou be ever trichard [a
cheater],
Trichen [cheat] shalt thou never more.

Simon de
Montfort.
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Society
Political
Songs.
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THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had
formerly been looked on by the English nation
with suspicion, had come to be regarded as the
people's champion. In the Song of Lewes—
which Mr. Hutton says is the most important of
the pieces of verse of Henry III.'s time that has
reached us—a fine vigorous rhyming Latin
poem, possibly by a Franciscan clerk, giving the

Simon de
Montfort and
his Cause.
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Simon de Montfort and form it has ever been presented—there are contrasted the characters of Simon de Montfort and Prince Edward, so soon to be King of England.
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case of the reformers in the fullest and clearest his Cause.
The singer thus prays God's blessing on the champion of the popular rights, that at that time were taking form in the summons to the Parliament of 1265 of "two knights from the loyal, honest, and discreet knights of each shire," and a like summons to the citizens of the great towns to send "of the discreet, loyal, and honest citizens and burgesses"—to join in the first truly English Parliament :—

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May God bless Simon de Montfort,
His sons no less, and his cohort,
Who bravely exposed themselves to death,
Fought boldly, mourning the miserable lot
Of Englishmen.

God seeing this agony of the people,
Gave in the fulness of time a new Matathias,
And he with his sons, zealous with zeal for
the law,
Yields neither to the wrongs nor fury of the
King.
They call Simon a seducer and a traitor,
But deeds show and prove him true :
'Traitors fall away in necessity,
They who fly not death are in verity.'

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For some months Henry III., his brother Earl Richard, King of the Romans, his son Prince Edward, and some of the nobles, were in the custody of Simon. Edward, by a clever trick, regained his freedom, and on August 4th, 1265, led the Royalist party in the Battle of Evesham, where Simon, his son Henry, and many of the popular leaders lost their lives. On October 16th, 1266, after "the disinherited" had made a strong fight at Ely and Kenilworth, four bishops and eight nobles agreed to what is known as the Bar of Kenilworth. One of the awards of these victors was that all that Simon de Montfort had done should be annulled. (We know this could not be done in regard to the summoning of knights and burgesses to Parliament:—the precedent had been set, and was to hold good). Another article was to ask the Pope's Legate, then in England, to forbid "that Simon, Earl of Leicester, be held by any one as a saint or righteous person, since he died under excommunication, as holy Church holdeth that the vain and foolish miracles told by some of him be uttered by no lip hereafter, and that the lord King strictly forbid the same under pain

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of corporal punishment." King, legate, and Simon de nobles might dispose, but Mr. Wright's Political Montfort and Songs prove that the reformers kept Earl his Cause. Simon's memory and principles green, by a song Page 166-8. with a refrain. This may be read in the Contemporary Writers series already mentioned, as may also a translation of a Latin hymn on "Earl Simon, the righteous," given in a book known as "Miracles of Simon." We quote a portion of the Lament:—

But by his death Earl Simon hath
In sooth the victory won ;
Like Canterbury's martyr he
There to the death was done :
Thomas the good, that never would
Let Holy Church be tried ;
Like him he fought and flinching not
The good earl like him died.

Refrain.—Now low there lies, the flower of price
That knew so much of war,
The Earl Montfort, whose luckless sort
The land shall long deplore.

Death did they face to keep in place
Both righteousness and peace,
Wherefore the saint from sin and taint
Shall give their souls release ;
They faced the grave that they might save
The people of this land,
Far so his will they did fulfil,
As we do understand. *Refrain.*

No earl or lord but sore hath erred,
And done things men must blame,
Both squire and knight have wrought un-right,
They all are put to shame.
Through them, in sooth, both faith and truth
Are perished from this land,
The wicked man unchecked may reign,
The fool in folly stand. *Refrain.*

Sir Simon now, that knight so true,
With all his company,
Are gone above to joy and love
In life that cannot die ;
But may our Lord that died on rood,
And God send succour yet,
To them that lie in misery,
Fast in hard prison set ! *Refrain.*

Wherefore, I pray, sweet friends alway
Seek of Saint Mary's Son,
That He may lead to his high meed

**Simon de
Montfort and
his Cause.**

Him that this rime hath done ;
I will not name the scholar's name,
I would not have it known
For love of Him, that saves from sin,
Pray for clerks all and one. *Refrain.*

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The following is from the translation of the hymn to be read in the Latin "Miracles of Simon":—

Simon of the mountain strong,
Flower of knightly chivalry,
Thou who death and deadly wrong
Barest, making England free :

Not the holy ones of yore,
They on earth who travailed sore,
Came to such despite and scorn.

So with God our champion be
As our whole defence in thee
Dying, leaves the world forlorn.

A PROFESSIONAL SONG-WRITERE.

**Political
Songs and
Poems.
Vol. 1.
Preface 9.**

Mr. Thomas Wright edited, for the Rolls' Series, the Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed from the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III. These poems, he says, are noteworthy for the entire disappearance of the Anglo-Norman language, only two in the series being in a dialect of the French tongue, and these were composed abroad. Many of the poems are in Latin, indicating the very deep interest and active part taken by the educated classes in the political events of the time. Noteworthy in the series are the compositions of Laurence Minot, the professional song writer of his age, and proud of his name. His songs, though so popular as to be collected and published by him about the year 1352, have been preserved for us in only one manuscript. The theme of all the songs is Edward III.'s successes in war with Scotland and France. One poem is a song of triumph, composed when the news of the victory at Crecy was received in England. Minot declared that—

Page 58-91.

Franche men put tham to pine
At Cressy, when thai brak the brig ;
That saw Edward with both his ine.
Than likid him no langer to lig ;
Ilk Inglis man on others rig
Over that water er thai went,
To batail er thai baldly big,
With brade ax and with bowes bent,

THE PEASANTS' RISING.

The peasants' rising in 1381 was the cause of two poems, one written in Latin, the other in alternate lines of English and Latin. The writer of the latter poem, a favourer of the insurrection, complains that everybody had been ruined by tax :—

Tax has tenet [injured] us alle.

Most of the wealth, which he declares had been extorted from the people, went into the hands of the greedy collectors, and a very small part ever reached the King's treasury. This misrule had had "hansell," and in the sequel was productive only of grief. The rebels, we are told, acted with the presumption of fools, having churls for their chieftains. The song-writer describes the demand of the rebels to be freed from servile bondage, their obtaining charters of freedom, and their subsequent outrageous conduct, which increased until Jack Straw, the great incendiary, was cast down by the young King in Smithfield. The Latin poem has as its theme the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the rebels. It gives a list of the grotesque names or nicknames of the chief leaders of the rebellion : Jack Sheep, "Tronche," John Wrau or Wram, Tom the Miller, the Tiler, Jack Straw, the Earl of the Plough, Rake-too-dear (?), Hob the Carter, and Rake-straw.

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JOHN BALLE AND THE LOLLARDS.

The year 1381 is also the date assigned to a curious Latin metrical manifesto directed against the Lollards. Mr. Wright says :—"The intellectual agitation caused by the promulgation of the doctrines of the great reformer, John Wycliffe, and the impatience of those who suffered under the pressure of ecclesiastical intolerance, drove many people farther than Wycliffe and his party ever contemplated ; and there can be no doubt that the religious feeling was deeply mixed up with the political feeling in these popular troubles. Doctrines closely approaching to an absolute equality of individuals and a common right in property were preached to the populace in the reign of Richard II., by men of ardent tempers, who had been originally friars or monks." John Balle, one of these, was so popular a preacher of these new doctrines, that he was thrown into prison by Archbishop Sudbury and the Bishop of London. He was released by the insurgents, who made him their chief preacher.

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Preface 59.

When the insurrection ended, he was said to have made a confession which connected the Wycliffe party, the Lollards, with the rising. Hence the poem, written by one of the ecclesiastical party. It has fifty stanzas of twelve lines. The doctrines of the Lollards are declared to be tares of the devil's sowing, which have converted a land that was once "rife with all wholesome science, free from the sham of heresy, a stranger to all error, and unconscious of all fallacy," into an England "at the head of all schism, discord, error, and madness, the lewd follower of every nefarious sect and of all strange doctrine." This was said to be the confession of John Balle, "when he was put to death for his wickedness." The errors which this versifier says were held by the sectaries included the forbidding of tithes and other dues to the clergy, of services and homages to the lords; the objecting to wicked priests, to the Pope, and to the riches of the Church, without which it was argued by the writer of the poem it could not sustain its outward respectability and command popular respect.

**History of
the English
People.**

Ch. 4. Sec. 4.

John R. Green, in his "History of the English People," gives the other and popular view of the picture. He points out how the Statute of Labourers, which was passed to repress the people, after the Black Death had greatly reduced the population, was used by lawyers and stewards of manors to bring back the villein and the serf into a bondage from which they held themselves freed. A system of forced labour was applied with vigour in town and in country. The tyranny of property then, as ever, roused the defiance of socialism. A spirit fatal to the whole system of the Middle Ages breathed in the popular rhyme which condensed the levelling doctrine of John Balle:—

When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?

The grant of a poll tax on every person in the realm, to meet the cost of the war with France and Spain, brought the temper of the people to insurrection pitch, and the rising broke out in the Eastern Counties. The following are some of the quaint rhymes which passed from mouth to mouth, and served as a summons to the revolt, that soon extended from the Eastern and Midland Counties, over all England south of the Thames:—

John Balle, greeteth you all,
And doth for to understand he hath ring your bell.

Now right and might, will and skill :
God speed every dele.

History of
the English
People.
Ch. 5. Sec. 4.

Help truth, and truth shall help you!

Now reyneth pride in price,
And covetise is counted wise,
And lechery withouten shame,
And gluttony withouten blame.
Envy reigneth with treason,
And sloth is take in great season.
God do bote, for now is tyme !

Jack Miller asketh help to turn his mill aright.
He hath grounden small, small, small ;
The King's Son of Heaven he shall pay for all.
Look thy mill go aright with the four sailes,
And the post stand with steadfastness.

With right and with might,
With skill and with will :
Let might help right,
And skill go before will,
And right before might,
So goeth our mill aright.

Mr. Green finds in the rude jingle of such lines the beginning of the English literature of political controversy. Rough as they are, they express clearly enough the mingled passions which met in the revolt of the peasants then longing for a right rule, for plain and simply justice; their scorn of the immorality of the nobles and the infamy of the Court; their resentment at the perversion of the law to the cause of oppression.

A song "On the Earthquake of 1382," the purpose of which was to convince men that God was by many warnings teaching them the need of amendment, enables us to see how some men applied the lessons of the Peasants' Rising :—

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When the Commons began to rise,
Was none so great lord, as I guess,
That they in heart began to gryse [fear],
And laid their jollity in presse [aside].
Where was then their worthiness,
When they made lordes droop and dare ?
Of all wise men I take witness,
This was a warning to be ware.
Before, if men had had a grace [God's grace],
Lordes might wonder well,
And let [hindered] the rising that there was ;
But that God thought yet some del [share]
That lordes should his lordship feel,
And of their lordship make them bare.
Trust thereto as true as steel,
This was a warning to be ware.

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Songs and
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Page 250-2.

Sykerliche [surely] I dare well say
 In such a plight this world is in,
 Many for winning would betray
 Father and mother and all his kin.
 Now were high time to begin
 To amend our mis [mistakes], and well to fare
 Our bag hangeth on a clipper pin,
 But we of this warning be ware.
 Be ware, for I can say no more ;
 Be ware, for vengeance of trespass ;
 Be ware, and think upon this lore ;
 Be ware of this sudden case.
 And yet be ware while we have space,
 And thank that child that Marie bare ;
 Of his great goodness and his grace
 Send us such warning to be ware.

We have only modernised the spelling in this quotation from the song of eleven stanzas, written just 500 years ago. Our readers will note that in all these old-time specimens of English, there must be an occasional change of the accent to the French fashion, the influence of the Norman-French showing itself in this way long after the language itself had given place to English—the vulgar tongue.

THE PREACHERS OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.

Preface 64. Songs in Latin, in English, and in a mixture of the two tongues, gave voice to men's complainings of the wickedness against which Wycliffe preached, and the Lollards openly protested. In these protests we have the expression of the politics of the years which closed the 14th and opened the 15th century. There is a Latin ballad upon a Council of the Clergy, which was sitting in London in 1382, when the earthquake occurred. The Council had met to pronounce judgment upon Wycliffe and his adherents. The writer draws a sad picture of the England of that day. Mr. Wright summarises the poem. The peasants rising had been ended; but "desolation" hung upon England and the good ship, which was in danger of being wrecked. The writer prays that God might bring the people to penitence, and especially that he would open the eyes of the young King Richard II. to the wickedness and hypocrisy of the friars. A pestilence was thinning the population, already wasted by the Black Death. An earthquake had been sent as a warning to the people for their sins, for Christ was almost forgotten in England. God's anger was shown undoubtedly in the earthquake, for it occurred at the very moment when the scribes and pharisees were assembled with the

high priests, against God's anointed. Winds and floods, such as had not been known before, had swept away the harvest. The cause of all these visitations was plain to be seen, for all orders of society had become equally wicked. In the very shops the purchasers were deceived by the use of false measures, and perjury and fraud reigned everywhere: and no wonder, for the clergy, who ought to be a mirror to the laity, were noteworthy for their pride and licentiousness, and those in power only thought of plundering those whom it was their duty to protect. Few of the prelates of the Church were promoted for their theological learning, but they obtained their money by favour or by simony, or by flattery. Equally blameable were the monks and friars, especially the latter, who in their outward acts pretended to be like red roses, "but the roses have faded, and their odour is like that of a dunghill." They built vast and magnificent houses, which were no better spiritually than dens of wolves. The poem goes on to describe friars' tricks to get money; the Benedictines, than whom none indulged more in worldly enjoyment, and especially in eating and drinking; and, lastly, the proceedings in the Council.

The writer of this ballad would appear to have been also the writer of an English song of fifteen stanzas, which mercilessly exposes the friars. There is this in common in the two poems, that the writer began by being a friar of the Benedictines, but left the fraternity before he had taken the vows. He thus describes himself:—

Full wisely can they preach and say;
But as they preach no thing do they.
I was a friar full many a day,
Therefore the sothe [truth] I wate [watch].
But when I saw that their living,
Accorded not to their preaching,
Off I cast my friar clothing,
And wyghtly [nimble] went my gait.
Other leave ne took I none,
From them when I went,
But toke [gave] them to the devil ychone
[each one]
The prior and the convent.
Out of the order though I be gone,
Apostate ne am I none,
Of twelve months me wanted one,
And odd days nine or ten.
Away to wend I made me boun [ready];
Ere time come of profession,
I went my way thoroughout the town,
In sight of many men.

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Lord God, that with paines ill
Mankind bought so dear,
Let never man after me have will
For to make him frere.

Page 266-8.

The English song, of which these are the concluding stanzas, is rich in satirical irony, as the following quotations will show :—

Priest, nor monk, nor yet Canon,
Nor no man of religion
Give them so to devotion
As do these holy friars.
For some give them [selves] to chivalry,
Some to riot and ribaldry ;
But friars give them [selves] to great study,
And to great prayers,
Whe so keeps their rule all
Both in worde and deed,
I am full sure that he shall
Have heaven bliss to mede [reward].

Men may see by their countenance,
That they are men of great penance,
And also that their sustenance
Simple is and weak.
I have lived now forty years,
And fatter men about the neres [kidneys]
Yet saw I never then are these freres,
In countrees there they rayko [course].
Meatless so meagre are they made,
And penance so puts them down,
That each one is a horse-load
When he shall trusse of town [pack up to
leave the town].

Alas ! that ever it should be so
Such clerks as they about should go
From town to town by two and two
To seek their sustenance.
By God that all this world wan [won]
He that that order first began
Me think certes it was a man
Of simple ordinance.
For they have nought to live by
They wander here and there
And deal with divers mercery
Right as they pedlers were.

They deal with purses, pins, and knives,
With girdles, gloves, for wenches and wives ;
But ever backward the husband thrives
There they are haunted till [enticed].
For when the good man is from hame,
And the friar comes to oure dame,
He spares neither for sin nor shame,
That he does his will.

If they no help of housewives had
 When husbands are not in,
 The friar's welfare were full bad,
 For they should brew full thin.

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 Page 266-8.

The song writer goes on to say the friars
 tempted the women with furs and spice:

All that for woman is pleasand
 Full ready certes have they ;
 But little gyfe they the husband,
 That for all shall pay.

Moreover, these friars were far cleverer traders
 than an ordinary pedlar, and they knew too how
 to wheedle, one of them with a pound of
 soap, would gain a kirtle, and a cape.

Whereto would I for others swear ?
 There is no pedlar that pack can bear,
 That half so dear can sell his gear,

Than a friar can do.

For if he give a wife a knive
 That cost but pennies two,
 The worth of ten knives, so mot I thrive,
 He will have ere he go.

But this cute trading faculty was not the worst
 fault of the friars, for this singer proceeds to
 warn his hearers against their immorality of the
 grossest kind, describes the consequences in
 rather coarse language, and accuses them of
 maintaining men in sin, instead of teaching
 them virtue :—

They say that they destroy sin,
 And they maintain men most therein;
 For had a man slain all his kin ;
 Go shrive him at a friar,
 And for less than a pair of shoon
 He will assoil him clean and soon,
 And say the sin that he has done
 His soul shall never dere [harm].
 It seemes truth that men say of them
 In many divers londe [lands]
 That that caitiff cursed Cayme [Cain]
 First this order fonde [founded.]

They travelled about, he says, to cry down the
 clergy, and extorted money from the people in
 many a way. But the song-writer foresaw that
 before long there would an ending of these men
 who had no conscience, just as there had been
 an end made of the Knights Templars.

Another English song satirizes the Minorite
 Friars and the use they made of pageants and
 theatrical shows, to impose upon the uneducated
 people. His judgment of the friars generally

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was that they all deserved to be burnt. As to their daily life the old writer says:—

They all preach of poverty, but they love it not.
For good meat to their mouth the town throughout is sought.

Wide are their wonnings [dwellings], and wunderfully wrought;

Murder and whoredom full dear has it bought.

With an O and an I, for sixpence ere they fail,
Slay thy father, and jape [joke] thy mother,
and they will thee assoil.

FOR THE RIGHT.

Early English The monks and friars might fail to preach and set the example of right-doing and right-thinking, but the people were not left without teachers. As may be seen from the verse we have quoted, the church had a much larger share in the politics of the middle ages than those departments of the state wherein we now expect to find materials for discussion. The church, in fact, was in contact with the people's every-day life, and for many a generation had been the friend of the people. That it ought yet to be, and that it would be, their friend, was the idea that lay at the foundation of the popular teaching of those days. Many popular teachers employed a form of verse which the Rev. Walter Skeat says, in his edition of Langland's poems, is in a metre peculiarly fitted for recitation, and, addressed almost more than any other to the *ear*, is one the swing of which is very easily caught. It is a metre in which the number of actual syllables is not much regarded, but where all depends on the occurrence of four (or sometimes five) strongly accented syllables in each line. The initial letter of the most strongly accented syllable in the second section is called the *rime-letter*, and the strongly-accented syllables of the first section begin with that letter, or are *alliterated* with it. He quotes the following English lines as a modern example, pointing it after the manner of the old English alliterated poems:—

Lightly down-leaping · he loosens his helmet :
Lightly down-leaping · he lapped the cool wave;
He feels that his forces · wax faint as he drinketh ;
He slumbers and sleeps · and sleeps as he sinks on the boulders.

PIERS PLOWMAN.

One of the most famous of our early English poets—William Langland—a secular priest preaching righteousness, used this alliterative verse, to good purpose. His principal poem "The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman," which was written in the year 1362, would appear to have been as familiar to the people, by its title, at the time of the Peasants' Rising, as John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," was twenty years after it was written. Langland, like Bunyan, taught by allegory. Piers Plowman and Do-well became henceforth typical characters.

In the vision, Langland sees the world and its people represented by a Fair in a field, situate between the tower of Truth, who is God the Father, and a dungeon, which is the abode of the evil spirits. In the field there were ploughmen and spendthrifts, hermits, minstrels, beggars, pilgrims, friars, a pardoner with "bulls" from the Pope, law sergeants, bishops, and all kinds of craftsmen.

A Fair field full of folk · found I there between,
Of all manner of men · the mean and the rich,
Working and wondering · as the world asketh.

Langland compares the minstrels and jesters to the disadvantage of the latter :—

And some mirthes to make · as minstrels can,
And get gold with their glee · guiltless I trowe.
But japers and janglers · Judas children,
Found them fantasies · and fools made of themselves,
And have wit at their will · to work if they lust.

Bidders and beggars, as dissembling knaves, living in gluttony, sleep, and sloth, were Langland's scorn. But more so were these :—

Pilgrims and Palmers · plighten them together
For to seek Saint James · and saintes at Rome;
Wenten forth on their way · with many wise tales,

And had leave to lie · all their life after.

Hermits in a heap [crowd] · with hooked staves, Wenten to Walsyngham · and their wenches after;

Great lubbers and long · that loth were to swynke [work]

Clothed themselves in copes · to be knownen for brethren;

And some schopen [chose] hem to hermyts · heore [their] ease to have.

I found there Friars · all the Four Orders,
Preaching the people · for profit of their bellies,

Piers
Plowman.
Text A.

Page 1-6.

Page 2.

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w

Piers
Plowman.
Text A. Glozing the Gospel · as them good liketh,
For covetyse of Copes · construeh it ill;
For money of this masters · may clothe them at
lyking,
For money and their merchandise · meeting oft
together.
Since charity hath been chapman · and chief to
shrive[n] lordes,
Many ferlyes [strange things] have be-fallen · in
a fewe years.
But holy-church begin · holding bet [well] to-
gether,
The most mischief on molde [earth] · mounteth
up fast.

Langland proceeds to limn the priest, who, as
pardonner, having a bull from the Pope, with
bishop's seals thereon, guarantees to assoil
everyone of falseness and fastings, and of vows
broken, in return for rings and brooches. If the
Bishop were worth his ears, said Langland, this
deceiving of the people would not be allowed.

Page 5. But the parish priest and he · de-part [divide]
the silver,
That have should the poor parisschens · if that
he were not.
Parsons and parish priests · playneth to their
Bishops
That their parish hath been poor · since the
Pestilence time,
And asketh leave and license · at London to
dwell,
To sing there for Simony · for silver is sweet.

Langland says he saw there Bishops bold, and
Bachelors of Divinity, who became clerks of
account to serve the King; archdeacons and
deacons, who had dignities given them to preach
to the people and to feed the poor, but had gone
to London, by leave of their Bishops, to be clerks
of the King's Bench, the country to destroy.

Page 6. Barons and Burgesses · and Bond-men also
I saw in that 'Sembly · as ye shall hear here-
after.
Bakers, Butchers · and Brewsters many
Woollen websters · and Weavers of linen,
Tailors, Tanners · and Tokkeris [fullers] both,
Masons, Miners · and many other craftes;
Dykers, and Divers · that do their deedes ill
[live evil lives],
And driveth forth the long day · with "Deu vous
save [God save us], dam Emme!"
Cooches and their knaves · Cryen "hote pies,
hote!"

Good geese and grys [little pigs] · Gowe dyne,
Gowe!"
Taverners to them · told the same tale
With good wine of Gascoyne · and wine of
Oseye,
Of Rhine and of Rochel · the roast to defy.

Piers
Plowman.
Text A.

Page 7-66.

This quotation is part of the descriptive prologue. Then follows the poem in 12 books, as we should say, each termed a passus or step. The allegory is, in the vision, explaine l to the poet by a lovely lady, Holy Church, who instructs him how great a treasure is Truth. Various forms of ill-doing and ill-thinking are in turn depicted. Then Piers the Plowman is introduced into the allegory. He tells the pilgrims who are looking for Truth that he knows him well. Clean Conscience and Common Sense took him to Truth's place. The Plowman had served and had his hire of Truth, who was the quickest paymaster poor men have. Piers directs them on their way thus: They are to go through Meekness till they come to Conscience, then cross the brook Be-buxom-of-speech by the ford Honour-your-fathers; pass by Swear-not-in-vain and the croft Covet-not, and the stocks Slay-not and Steal-not; turn aside from the brook Bear-no-false-witness; and then shall ye see Say-sooth. So shall ye come to a Court clear as the Sun, with mount of Mercy, walls of Wit to keep Will thereout, and battlements of Christendom. All the houses within the Court are roofed with Love-as-brethren. There Truth has his tower set above the Sun. Grace is the gate-ward—a good man forsooth; and his man Amend-thou. The token to be given to Grace is penitence:

Page 68-73.

I am sorry for my sins · and so shall I ever
When I think thereon, · though I were a Pope.

Piers cautions the pilgrims to love Truth wel l and hold to his law, to beware of Wrath—that wicked Shrew, envious of Truth. Moreover, Truth has seven sisters—Abstinence, Humility, Charity, Chastity, Patience, Peace, and Bount'y, without whose aid it is hard to get in-going at that gate. The Plowman bids even the cut-purse, and others who know they have no kindred in Truth's Court, to know that Mercy dwells there also, who is of kin to all sinful men. The pilgrims want a guide, and Piers offers his service, but he must first plow and sow [ear is the old word] his half-acre by the high-way. The plowman proceeds to teach practical Christianity to the company of

Page 74.

- Piers Plowman.
Text A.
- Page 78. knights and ladies of high degree. When he sets outwith the band, he hangs a hopper on his back in which is a bushel of seed corn, from whose produce those who help him to ear shall have their, hire in harvest. The poet introduces Piers' wife. Work-when-time-is; his daughter, Do-right-so-or-thy-dame-will-thee-beat; and his son, Obey-your-King [the title is a much longer phrase than this]. Then, as he is going on a journey, the Plowman makes his will, in which the duty of the church, that has craved the tithe of his corn and chattels, is set down, namely, to have him in mind, and remember him among all Christians. The trial comes when Hunger is called on the scene. But even Famine has his lessons, among which Piers includes the teaching that much sickness comes from men's over-eating: were men moderate in this particular Physic would have to sell his furred hood and cloak, and learn to labour on the land, lest his livelihood fail. Truth's teaching is set down for all sorts and conditions of men. The lawyers are told that water, air, and wit ought never to be bought, for they are servants common to all men. Labourers that live by their hands, that are true, loving, and meek, have the same abolition as was sent to Piers. The old and feeble, the blind and bedridden, that take mischief weekly,
- Page 87.
- Page 95-6.

Have as plain pardon · as the ploughman himself,
For love of their lowly hearts · our Lord hath
them granted
Their penance; and their purgatory · is here upon
earth.

DO-WEL, DO-BET, AND DO-BEST.

- Page 103-7. The poet's Vision of Piers Plowman ends only to introduce other characters, Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best. He wanders abroad in search of Do-well. Thought meets him, and tells him where they live, but recommends him to ask Wit for more knowledge. Wit tells the enquirer that Do-wel consists in fearing God; Do-bet in suffering patiently; Do-best in lowliness of heart. Dame Study, Wit's wife, further commands the dreamer to Clergy [Learning] and Scripture [Writing]. He seeks these, and Clergy explains that Do-wel is an active life, work well and truly done, whether by craftsman or by those who toil and hardly win their daily bread; Do-bet is to feed and clothe beggars, to comfort
- Page 121.
- Page 127.
- Page 131.

those in prison, and the sick, and to live in unity ;—

Sick with the sorry sing with the glad.

Do-best is to teach the people by preaching, and to relieve the poor out of the vast wealth possessed by ecclesiastics for that purpose. This definition leads to a controversy between Clergy and Will the dreamer, as to the spiritual effect of riches, the end of which is that the dreamer concludes that poor and honest, though ignorant, may more easily win life eternal with one pater-noster than all the wisdom of great clerks that con many books. Clergy, however, asserts that he has tried to teach the poet to do well ; and to do better is for angels to attain to : more knowledge could only be wanted to find occasion for cavil and to vex Clergy and Theology. Scripture upon this scornfully told Clergy to be quiet, and talked so loud that the poet was put to shame, and told her it was a slander to holy church, since Theology the true defended the telling of it. Scripture, however, asserted that the Gospel witnessed that no answer was given to sinful wretches.

In the Passion when Pilate a-posed God Page 138*.
Almighty,

And asked Jesu on high that herden it an hundred,

Quid est veritas? [What is truth?] quoth he verily tell us.

God gave him no answer but gan his tongue hold.

Right so I rede [counsel], quoth she rede thou no further;

Of that he would wite [know] wis him no better;

For he came not by cause to learn to dowel,
But as he saith, such I am when he with me carpeth.

Clergy thereupon crept into a cabin, drew to the door, and bade the dreamer go do-well, or wickedly, which pleased him best.

Then held I up my handes to Scripture the wise,

To be her man, if I must for evermore after,
With that she would me wisse [let him know] where the town was

Kind Wit [Common Sense] her confessor her cousin was in.

That lady then low and langthe [caught] me in her arms.

Piers
Plowman.
Text A.

Page 136.

Page 137*.

Piers Plowman.
Text A.

And said, my cousin kind Wit, · knownen is well wide,
And his lodging is with Life, · that lord is of earth,
And if thou desire · with him for to abide
I shall thee wisse · where that he dwelleth.

Page 139* to 141*. Scripture sent *Omnia-probat* to show Will the way. Then we have pictured the misery that was all too common in those days—a youth who dwelt with Death and was known as Hunger. He offered the poet some of the broken bread which had been bought of a beggar, and Will ate it all up. Next he met a knave with a Confessor's face, who hailed Will and told him that he too dwelt with Death, and that his name was Fever, the messenger of Death, and authorised to slay Life. When the dreamer would fain go with him on his way, Fever says, Nay, wend thou no further, but live as this life is ordained for thee, do well while thy days endure, and thy play may be plenteous in Paradise with angels if only thou be regular at prayers and profitable work.

Will the poet accordingly sped him well fast, and wrote his books of Do-wel, the poem of Piers the Plowman, and of other characters—"much people also" :—

Page 141*. And when his work was wrought · ere Will might espy,
Death dealt him a dent · and drove him to the earth,
And he is 'closed under clom [clay] · Christ have his soul !

There are many manuscripts of the prologue and the eleven sections following. The twelfth and concluding section, which records the talk with Scripture, and the companionship of Hunger and Fever, was only discovered after the Early English Text edition of the poem had been published. A note by the editor, and a quotation of a few lines from a manuscript existing at University College, Oxford, led to the missing twelfth passus being found in the Bodleian Library—a manuscript which is the only perfect copy of the Vision. It was apparently copied by one. Johan But, who, as a dabbler in verse, adds a few lines, that he hopes God will bless all men, and teach them to do right: God save King Richard and all his lords; may Mary, mother and maiden, beseech for man, and may Christ, who bled upon the cross, bring us all to bliss.

A MEDIEVAL PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Wright says that one of the most curious of mediæval political songs is the alliterative English poem, "On the Deposition of Richard II.;" published also by the Early English Text Society among Langland's poems, under the title "Richard the Rede-less." The portion of this piece of alliterative verse which has a certain interest for us, is the satirical description of a Parliament in Richard's reign. The only existing copy is unfortunately incomplete. Langland was possibly the author, and he may not have not ended it. In form, the poem would appear to have been intended as a continuation of "The Vision concerning Piers Plowman." The Parliament which is limned is the compliant one that met in 21 Richard II. This Parliament had, says the writer of the song, been summoned to grant the King money, to support his unprecedentedly large and costly household. It was to be a "privy" parliament, that is one chosen to be compliant with the King's will; and the sheriffs and other returning officers received instructions to cause such to be chosen members as would not be likely to offer any opposition to the Court.

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Page 368-417.

Let write writtis · all in wax closed
For peers and prelatis · that they appear should,
And send side sondis [messages] · to sheriffs
about,
To choose such chevaliers · as the charge would
To shew for the shire · in company with the
great.

Page 413.

When the Parliament was assembled, the cause of their coming was declared, according to established form:—as we now term it the King's Speech was read. A "Clerk" then addressed the assembly "and moved for money more than for aught else." His speech ended, "to-morrow they must meet again together, the Knights of the community, and talk [carpe] of the matters with citizens of shires sent for the same, to rehearse the articles and grant all that the King asked." The satirist does not give some of the members credit for much honesty:—

But yet for the manere [form's sake] · to make
men blind,
Some argued against it · then a good while,
And said—"We be servants " · and salary take,
And are sent from the shires . to shew what
them grieveth,

Page 414.

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Page 414. And to parle [speak] for their profit · and
pass no further,
And to grant of their gold · to the great wattis
[men]
By no manner wronge way [wrongly], · but if
war were;
And if we be false · to those who here ffyndyth
[send us],
Evil be we worthy · to welden [receive] our hire,

This is a free version, in modern spelling, of the speech which the song writer sets down as expressing the protest of some of the members. He goes on to expose the conduct of others :—

Page 414-7. Some sat like a cipher in arithmetic [awgrym] that noteth a place and nothing availthe. Some had supped with Symond the night before, and shewed for the shire and lost their shew. Some were titulars, who went to the King, and told him who were foes, and whe good friends that babbled [chattered] for the best, and deserved no blame of King or Council. Some slumbered and slept, and said but little. And some maffled [stammered] with the mouth, and knew not what they meant. And some had hire [been bribed], and held with those who had hired them, and would not move a foot further than they were bid. Others looked solemn and sad of their wits, but seemed not to know why. Some were so fierce at the first start that they appeared to have put on top-sail to catch the fresh-blowing wind; but soon pulled down their sail when the storm set in. Some had been beforehand tampered with by the Council, and wist well enough how it should end, or some of the assembly should repent. Some held with the mo [majority], however it went. Some resolved what they thought to be right, and would go no farther. Some spoke so pert as proved well that they had in view the King's gift of money rather than the comfort of the commune that paid their costs; and these were promised hansell of the silver which they were to vote to the King. And some were in dread of Dukes, and Do-well forsook.

Unfortunately, the writer, or else the copyist of this old poem, left off ere he had set down the end of the satire. But enough has come down to us to show that the King's Ministers of that day realised, by anticipation, Sir Robert Walpole's declaration that of pretended patriots it might be said "All those men have their price."

PIERCE THE PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE.

A rousing summons by John Ball, which forms part of the documentary history of the Peasants' Rising, shows that Piers Ploughman and Do-well had then become recognised titles for reforming Englishmen. A poem of about the year 1394 shows that the popularity of the title survived the insurrection. "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede" is a poem following on the lines of the Piers Plowman Vision, since it is a protest against the demoralisation that continued to prevail among the official and professed men of religion. It won an immediate popularity, and has been many times issued from the press since the earliest printed edition of 1553, which date is three years after the first printed issue of "The Vision of Piers Plowman." The best recent edition is that prepared by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, and published by the Early English Text Society. The poem contrasts the wealth, idleness, and the luxurious dwelling of the four Orders of Friars, men vowed to poverty, diligence, and hard living, with the pitiful condition of the English peasant as represented by the ploughman. This labourer is drawn as wearing a coarse coat, a hood full of holes, knobbed shoes clouted full thick, and his toes on the ground as he went about his work, his hose overhanging his hockshins on every side, all covered with fen soil as he followed the plough, his mittens worn out and grimed, his feet sunk in fen mud almost to the ankle, while his team of four oxen were so thin that men might reckon each rib, so rueful were they. The ploughman's wife worked with him, driving the team with a long goad she wears a coat cut very short, and is wrapped in a winnowing sheet to shelter her from the weather; while her bare feet left their marks of blood on the ice. The youngest child lies, lapped in cloths, at the lond's-end in a little crumb-bowl, and two others, two years old, are wailing, until the ploughman, sighing sore, chiles them. "Children be still." The ploughman bids the searcher after a creed to beware of the friars and their professions. Pierce the Ploughman, for it is he, says some plain things of monks and friars, showing how their conduct is opposed to the conduct of men whom Christ said were blessed. Pierce then sets forth his faith, which corresponds with that known as the Apostles' Creed, and ends with this prayer:—

God of his great might · and his good grace
Save all friars · that faithfully live,

Page 32.

And all those that be false · fair them amend,
 And give them wit and good will · such deeds
 to work.
 That they may win the life . that ever shall
 last ! Amen.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE PLOUGHMAN.

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The writer of "Pierce the Ploughman's Crede," soon after wrote another poem which is known as "The Complaint of the Ploughman," and is to be read in the Rolls Series : Political Poems and Songs. It has 166 stanzas of eight lines. The poet professed to have heard in a wood a dispute between two fowls, a griffon, and a pelican : the first the advocate of the Roman Church ; the other, one who holds for the truth as put forth by the Lollards. The discussion goes on briskly, until the griffon loses his temper, threatens the pelican and church reformers, and flies away in a rage. Thereupon the talk is continued between the pelican and the ploughman, who has been a listener to the dispute. Their talk about the corruptions of the Church is interrupted by the return of the griffon with a flock of birds, his allies—ravens, rooks, crows, magpies, buzzards, kites, and the like. The pelican, obliged to fly away in alarm, ultimately returns with the phoenix, who defeats the griffon and his allies, killing great numbers of them, and driving the rest no man knows where.

A short quotation will show how the controversy, respecting the misdoings of the Church representatives, approached to what we now speak of as politics :—

Page 323-4.

The king taxeth not his men
 But by assent of the commonalty ;
 But these [the ecclesiastics] each year will
 ransom them
 Masterfully, more than doth he.
 Their seals by yeare better be
 Than is the king's in extend ;
 Their officers have greater fee ;
 But this mischeefe God amend !
 Wonder is that the Parliament,
 And all the lords of this lond,
 Hereto taken so little entent [heed],
 To help the people out of their hond.
 For they be harder in their bond
 Worse beat and bitter brend
 Than to the king is understand.
 God him helpe this to amend !

JACKE UPLAND.

Vol. 2. Yet another witness for the right was Jacke
 Page 16 & 114 Upland, or, as we should say, Jack the country-

man. He is a plain speaker, after the Plowman's fashion. His attack on the friars was so sharp and vigorous that John of Walsingham, writing as Friar Daw Topias, replied. Jacke Upland also wrote a rejoinder. These poems are chiefly valuable as illustrations of the religious and church controversies of the beginning of the 15th century.

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THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE NATION.

"Like priestlike people" is an old proverb that was abundantly illustrated in the English nation in the 14th and 15th centuries. John Gower, the fashionable poet of his time, wrote, in the days of Richard II. and Henry IV., Latin poems on the vices of the several orders of society. Lollardy he puts in the forefront of the indictment. He acknowledges the Papal Church to be corrupt; but Lollardy he condemns politically because it breeds division in the Church and State. Pride, lasciviousness, perjury, avarice, he declares to be rife in the land. In another poem he is even more precise. He engages in a search for light; fails to find it at Rome, where there were then two Popes; fails to find it in the church, where everything was governed by simony. Among the monks and secular clergy darkness existed; their only lamps were games, idleness, prostitutes, and taverns. Light was equally a stranger to the King's Councils; to the nobles who trusted in their own power; to the chivalry of the kingdom, which was intent only upon self-indulgence and rapine. Light had disappeared from among men of the law, before the influence of bribery; and law had no weight against money. Merchants and tradesmen were in darkness, because of their usury and fraudulent dealings. "The commons," or in the language of the law, the country, was too deeply immersed in ignorance to show much light, and was over-run with robbers, homicides, and turbulent characters of every description.

Page 1-13.

Gower also addressed an English poem of 55 stanzas to King Henry IV. on his coming to the throne. In it he recommends the King to ask heaven for wisdom in ruling his own people, rather than for the faculty of conquering others. The people longed for peace, the war with France having been carried on without honour to England:—

Page 4-15.

Peace is the chief of all the worldes wealth,
And to the heaven it leadeth eke the way;
Peace is of soul and life the mannes health

Page 6.

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Of pestilence, and doth the war away.
My liege lord, take heed of that I say,
If war may be left, take peace on honde,
Which may not be withoute Goddes sonde.
With peace stands every creature in rest;
Without peace there may no life be glad;
Above all other good, peace is the best:
Peace hath himself when war is all betsad
[arrayed]
The peace is safe, the war is ever adrad
[in fear];
Peace is of all charity the key
Which hath the life and soule for to weigh.

Page 7. The war bring' th in poverty at his heels,
Whereof the common people is sore greived;
The war hath set his cart on thilke wheels,
Where that fortune may nought be believed,
For when men wene [suppose] best to have
achieved,
Full oft it is all newe to begin;
The war hath nothing sure, though he win.

Page 8. Ha! well is he that schedde never blood,
But if it were in cause of righteousness.
For if a king the peril understood,
What is to slay the people, then I guess
The deadly wars and the heaviness,
Whereof the peace disturbed is full oft,
Should at some time cease and waxe soft.

Mr. Wright provides us also with three English poems and three English epigrams, written during the reign of Henry VI., which evidence the continuance of the evil social condition, against which Gower had protested. One of these poems has as its burden what would appear to have passed into a proverb. "The besom [blind] leads the blind." A short quotation from this poem may be taken as a specimen of the outspokenness of the writer:—

Page 235-6. Truth is set at little price;
Worship from us longe hath beene slawe
[slain];
Robbers now rule righteousness,
And wynnerys [gain access] with their
sothe sawe [sayings];
Since soothfastness has slawe;
Mirth is now of manrys mind;
The dread of God is all to drawe
[torn to pieces]
For now the bysom leads the blind.
He is loved that well can lie;
And thieves true men honge;
To God I rede [counsel] that we cry,

That this life last not long.
 This world is turned up-so-down among ;
 For friars are confessors, against a kynde
 [nature],
 To the chief ladies of this londe ;
 Therefore the bysom leads the blind.

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A second poem has as its theme "How Mis-
chance reigneth in England," and the poet's
burden is the familiar Litany refrain—Good
Lord, deliver us :—

Page 239.

Meed [bribery] and falsehood associated are ;
 Truth banned is, the blind may not see ;
 Many a man they make full bare,
 A strange complaint there is of every degree.
 The way is now past of tranquility,
 The which causeth a full great variance ;
 Among the commons there is no game nor glee ;
 Of all our sins, God, make a deliverance.
 Murder meddleth ful oft, as men say,
 Usury and rapine stilly do stand,
 Here abiding is with those that go full gay ;
 For when they will they have them in hand,
 And thus they reign throughout this land ;
 Full many they bringe to mischance.
 Wise men, behold, beware all beforehand ;
 Of all our sins, God, make a deliverance.

The poet goes on to recount other prevalent
vices—idleness, theft, unthrift, worrying of the
commonalty, sloth, negligence, and covetous-
ness —

White is black, as many men say,
 And black is white, but some men say nay ;
 Authorities for them they toleye [put forward];
 Large conscience causeth the crooked way.
 In this realm they make a foul array.
 When the dice run, their lacketh a chance ;
 Clean conscience backward goeth alway ;
 Of all our sins, God, make a deliverance.

Page 240.

The epigrams are terse and full of meaning.
 Two of them have public extravagance as their
 theme : the other is

Page 252.

AN EPIGRAM ON THE TIMES.

Now is Yngland all in fyght [strife] :
 Much people of conscience light ;
 Many knights, and little of might,
 Many laws, and little right ;
 And few kept with true intent ;
 Little charity, and fain to please ;
 Many a gallant penniless ;
 And many a wonderful disguising,
 By imprudent and mis-advising ;

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Great countenance [ostentation], and small
wages ;
Many gentlemen, and few pages ;
Wide gowns, and large sleeves ;
Well besene [provided], and strong thieves ;
Much boast of their clothes,
But well I wot they lack no oaths.

ENGLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Page 131. The French Campaign, in which Henry V. engaged, would appear to have given rise to discussion on England's foreign policy. Mr. Wright's Political Poems and Songs include a Latin epigram, in which a Frenchman reproaches an Englishman because of the injuries that had been inflicted on France, and the Englishman replies. It was assumed that the accession of Henry VI. would bring peace, his claims to the French Crown being supposed to be greater than those of the Dauphin, considering it merely as a question of legitimacy. To make this known to Englishmen, John Lydgate, a monk of Bury St. Edmund's, a prolific writer, set down in wretched verse the pedigree of Henry VI.,

To put away all manner variance,
Wholly the doubt and the ambiguity.
To set the line where it should be,
And where it ought justly to abide.

He professed to translate from a French popular writer, at the instance of my Lord of Warwick. A poem on the Coronation enables us to realise how greatly the English Commons longed for peace :

Page 148. Pray we all both more and less,
Christ save England in rest and peace,
And God comfort that mickle hath lost,
That was won with worship late never be lost.

But we have the fullest statement of the foreign policy of that time—about the 14th Henry VI.—in a long English poem entitled

THE LIBEL OF ENGLISH POLICY.

Page 157. The true process of English policy,
Of utterward to keep this realm in rest
Of our England, that no man may deny
Nere [were not] say of soth but one of the
best
Is this, that who says south, north, east, and
west,
Cherish merchandise, keep th' admiralty
That we be masters of the narrow sea.

The word *Libel* here signifies a little book. The declared purpose of the writer is to exhort all England to keep the command of the Channel for England's profit, and also for "worship and salvation to England, and to all Englishmen." Just then Calais had been besieged, and much alarm had been caused in England lest this port should be lost to the nation. A quaint English poem, descriptive of the siege, declared, "Little knows the fool who might choose what harm it were to the Crown of England, good Calais to lose"—which assertion passed into a proverb. The danger seems to have led to a strict examination of England's maritime policy, and to have found expression in a remarkable poem, of which the first stanza is quoted above.

The command of the sea meant to this writer much that it has meant ever since to English politicians. England's power, he contended, lay on the sea rather than on the land, and, realising this, her commercial and maritime influence should be made so great as to impose peace on the nations of Western Europe. This had been the policy of Edward III. and Henry V., as shown in an observation of the Emperor Sigismund to Henry V. respecting Dover and Calais :—

Of all your towns to choose of one and other,
To keep the sea, and soon to come over
To war outwards and your realm to recover,
Keep these two towns, sire, and your majesty,
As your two eyes to keep the narrow sea.

The rhyming politician goes on to apply this advice :—

For if this sea be kept in time of war,
Who can here pass without danger and woe ?
Who may escape, who may mischief defer ?
What merchandise may be agoo [go past] ?
For needs they must take truce every foe.
Flanders, and Spain, and others, trust to me,
Or else hindered all for this narrow sea.

For the lack of maintaining this policy, during the minority of Henry VI., he declared that the English had begun to be despised by foreigners, the Bretons and Flemings asserting that the English ought to take the ship from their noble [the gold coin so named], and put a pusillanimous sheep in its place. The curious reader finds recounted in this poem the articles of commerce for which we traded with various nations; reads of the evil reputation of the Breton seamen, and especially those of St. Malo, who were notorious

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for their piracies ; and also learns what were the prevailing "tricks of trade." The politician will find his amusement in the writer's ideas on two topics on which we hear much even yet.

FAIR TRADE.

What reason is it that we should go to oste
[dwell]
In their countries, and in this English coast
They should not so, but have more liberty
Than we ourselves ? Now, all so may I thee,
I would men should to giftes take no heed
That letteth our things public for to speed ;
For this we see well every day at eye,
Gifts and feasts hinder our po icy.
Now see that fools be either they or we,
But ever we have the worse in this country.
Therefore let them unto coste go [dwell] here,
Or we be free with them in like manere
In their countries ; and if it will not be,
Compel them unto coste [to dwell here] and ye
shall see
Much advantage and much profit arise,
Much more than I can write in any wise.

THE IRISH QUESTION. *

Page 186.

Ireland was in those days the land from which England got hides and fish, especially salmon, hake, and herrings; besides linens, furs of marten, skins of otter, squirrel, Irish hare, sheep, lambs, and foxes, as well as of kids and rabbits in great plenty. With such a market at their command—

The Irishmen have cause like to ours,
Our land and theirs together defend,
That no enemy shall hurt nor offend
Ireland nor us, but as one community
Should help to keep well about the sea.

Irish harbours were desirable—none better in the world for ships to ride in, or for protection against enemies. And, moreover, there was much natural and mineral wealth, of which the "wild Irish" did not avail themselves, but which might be of great value to England "if we had their peace and goodwill." The writer goes on to say—

Page 187.

Now here beware and heartily take entente
As ye will answer at the last judgment,
That for slchth and for racheshede [carelessness]

Ye remember, with all your might take heed
To keep Ireland, that it be not lost ;
For it is a buttress and a post
Under England, and Wales another.

God forbid but each were other brother,
Of one allegiance due unto the King.

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He, however, asserts his fear that England's power in Ireland was in imminent danger, and declares that were Ireland lost "England were nigh as good as gone." The authority of England had been so ineffectually defended that the "wild Irish" had recently gained as much as two or three English shires, so that the English ground was but as a small corner compared with the rest. One year's war in France cost as much as would suffice to reduce the whole of Ireland. Covetousness, desire for profit at all hazards, envy, and cruelty, he declared, had wrought us this harm; and he feared that Wales would soon also rise in rebellion.

A TRUCK ACT DEMANDED.

A similar, though much shorter poem, on England's commercial policy, was written in the reign of Edward IV., having as its purpose to enforce the principles contained in the "Libel of English Policy." England's strength, this writer found to consist in the need that other nations had of three things—meat, drink, and clothing. The last could only be had from the surplus produce of wool grown in England. The poem is now of interest by reason of the writer's protest against the custom, then recently introduced, of compelling workmen to take half their wages in merchandise—a sure and ready way of robbing the poor—to remedy which he demanded a Truck Act such as we have had enacted within the last few years;—

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That they take for vj d, that is dear enough of
iiij.,

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And thus they be defrauded in every country,
The poor have the labour, the rich the
winning;
This accordeth naught, it is a heavy parting.

But to void fraud, and set equality,
That such workfolk be paid in good money,
From this time forth by sufficient ordinance,
That the poor no more be put to such
grievance.

Therefore, for the love of God in trinity,
Consider well these matters, and cherish the
commonalty,
That their poor living sinful and adversity
May be altered unto wealth, riches, and
prosperity.

GOD SPEDE THE PLOUGH.

Early English Texts, 30. A few words about a poem bearing this title, written about the year 1500, and printed by the Early English Text Society, will conclude these notes on mediæval popular politics. The poet having, in ploughing time, said to a husbandman this old saying, "I pray to God, sped well the plough," one of the husbandmen replied that there was much need to pray,

For all the year we labour with the land,
With many a cumbrous lot of clay,
To maintain this world if that we may,
By down and by dale and many a slough.

The parson for his tithe sheaf, the farmer's servants, the clerk who demanded his sheaf, and the sexton, all ought to pray speed well the plough. The grievance of the King's purveyors taking wheat, oats, beef, mutton, butter, and poultry, and compelling the farmer to take the farm produce to the King's Court, where the payment was a "stick of a bough, and yet we must speke fair for dread," was cause for the prayer speed well the plough. So of the demand for the taxes, the lord's rent, the inquests by bailiffs and beadle, the petitions of poor prisoners, the bold demands of monks, friars, the poor preachers, priests, tipstaves, minstrels, lawyers, beggars who were privileged by charter, and lastly, weeping women. All these constituted the host that lived by the profit of the land, and gave cause to the husbandman to say, "I pray to God, speed well the plough." The poet concludes :

Page 72. And then I thanked this good husband,
And prayed God the plough to speed,
And all those that laboureth with the land,
And them that helpeth them with word or deed.
God give them grace such life to lead
That in their conscience may be merry enough,
And Heaven's bliss to be their mede,
And ever I pray, "God speed the plough."



Rural England fifty Years Ago.

Many English poets have given us some pretty pictures of Nature, but we must turn to the writers of the Victorian age if we would see country life depicted in all its fulness and richness. Of these writers, one of the first, and certainly one of the most enthusiastic, was William Howitt—a Quaker by birth—who spent a long life in literary work, greatly influenced by a deep love of Nature. His wife, Mary Howitt, is equally famous as a poetess and translator. In the first year of their wedded life they published together a volume of poems, entitled “The Forest Minstrel.” Fifteen years later—in 1838—just after Queen Victoria came to the throne, William Howitt won quite a success with a collection of papers, published under the title “The Rural Life of England.” A large impression was speedily exhausted, and in April, 1840, a second edition was issued. This book is the more valuable, because it presents to the imagination faithful pictures of modern rural England, ere railways had had much effect on country life and manners. William Howitt says he had, in the preparation of the volume, “literally travelled, and a great deal of it on foot, from the Land’s End to the Tweed, penetrating into the retirements, and witnessing the domestic life of the country in primitive seclusions and under rustic roofs. No moments of my existence have been more deliciously spent than those in which I have wandered from spot to spot of this happy and beautiful island, surveying its ancient monuments, and its present living men and manners.”

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of England.

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RURAL DELIGHTS.

The country life of the well-to-do has not greatly altered since 1838. There are greater facilities for travel; but life in the mansion then was pretty much what it is now. William Howitt brings into strong relief the delights

Rural Life attending on ownership of large estates, which of England were, undoubtedly, as great fifty years ago as they are now. He says:—

Part 1. Ch. 2. It would require some ingenuity to discover

Page 11, 12. any earthly lot like that of an English gentleman. Every art and energy is exerted in his favour. Look at the ancient castle, or the mansion of later ages, and then at the dwelling of the private gentleman now. The modern mansion of the country gentleman, what a lovely sight is that! What a bright and pleasant abode! What a fair country, what a peaceful, well-ordered population surround it, instead of the dreary forests and savage hordes of the feudal ages! What a snug and silken nest of delight is the modern mansion! And all around what a splendidly cultivated country! What lovely gardens, in which flowers from every region are blowing! Here is a vast change!—a vast advance from the rude life of our ancestors; and the more we look into the present state of domestic life, the more we shall perceive the admirable perfection of its economy and arrangements. But it is not merely

Page 14. within doors that the singular privileges of an English gentleman lie. He need only step out, and he sees them surrounding him on every side. . . . There are drives through woods

and fields of the most delicious character; there is social intercourse with neighbouring wealthy families, and a host of kind offices to poor ones,

Page 16. which present the sweetest enjoyment. I think the extraordinary blessings and privileges of English rural life have never been sufficiently considered. It is only when we begin to count them up that we become aware of their amount, and surpassing character. What is there of divine sentiment or earthly knowledge, of physical, intellectual, or religious good; what is there of generous, social, reflective, retiring, or aspiring; what is there of freshness and beauty; of luxurious in life, or preparatory to a peaceful death; what is there that can purify the spirit, ennable the heart, and prompt men to a wise and extensive beneficence, which may not be found in English rural life? It has everything in it which is beautiful, and may become glorious and god-like.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

Ch. 5. Page 53. Our author describes the recreations and the sports of the gentry of fifty years ago, and then the comparatively new joy of scientific farming: "Amid all the advantages and recreations surrounding the country life of modern

England, that of scientific farming is certainly one of the greatest: it is a pursuit full of interest and variety, at once natural, philosophical, and dignified." The horticultural show and the agricultural show are now occurrences so uneventful that only by such a record as William Howitt's can we realise that fifty years ago they were novelties:—It is a new feature in rural life to see the whole population of a district hastening on a given day, gentlemen, farmers, and farm servants, all in their best array, to some one spot where the cattle are shown, the ploughing is done, the prizes are awarded by umpires chosen from the most skilful, and the different parties then going to a good dinner, and a long talk and hearty toasting of all the interests of agriculture. The chapter of the book which is devoted to Scientific Farming is in short animated with the enthusiasm of youth, as was the practice itself in those days. Howitt's own opinion finds expression in this sentence:—With the exception of naturalists, there are no men whose pursuits seem to me to yield them so much real happiness as intelligent agriculturists whose hearts are in the business; and though there are men whose offices or professions place them more in the public eye, there are none who are more truly the benefactors of the country.

The most startling contrast between the provincial life of the well-to-do in the ante-railway days, and the life of to-day, is seen in the one particular of the public reception of the Judges on Circuit. William Howitt speaks of the incidents arising out of the Judges travelling on circuit throughout the land, as the most picturesque of public spectacles, and the parade of assize time as marked by old English ceremony, custom, and costume. The picture of the reception as it was to be seen 50 years ago is faithful to the minutest detail:—

The High Sheriff's tenants and household servants, to the number of forty or fifty, have been put into a new livery in the cut of the old yeomen, and generally of some bright or peculiar co'our, green, blue, white, or delicate drab, as indeed the livery of the gentleman may be. Mounted on their horses, and with their javelins or halberds, and preceded by two trumpeters, who, old Aubrey, can tell you, are a very ancient essential on such occasions, they escort the sheriff on his way to meet the Judges. . . . On the morning of the Judge's approach the High Sheriff marches out in the same style, followed by a long train of the gentlemen and tradesmen of the place, who are anxious to

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Rural Life of England. Ch. 8. Page 83-6. testify their respect to the ancient forms of justice, and the representative of the monarch. He advances some mile or two on the way by which the Judge is to arrive. There the procession halts, generally in a position which commands a view of the road by which the Judge is expected. Anon, there is a stir, a looking out amongst them, your eye follows theirs, and you see a carriage, dusty and travel soiled, come driving rapidly on. It is that of the Judge. As they drive up, the javelin-men and gentlemen uncover; the Sheriff descends from his carriage; his gowned and be-wigged lordship descends from his; the Sheriff makes his bow and his compliments; the Judge enters the carriage of the Sheriff with him; his own carriage falls into the rear, and the procession now moves on towards the town, with bannered trumpets blowing, and amid a continually increasing crowd of spectators. There is something very quaint and old English in the whole affair. . . . As they move on towards the mother church from the judge's lodgings, thousands on thousands throng to gaze. Every window presents its quota of protruded heads; every flight of steps before the doors of the houses, and every other elevated spot, is occupied. Boys are hanging on the lamp posts, and on iron palisades, like bats. The procession used to be much enlivened by the presence of the Mayor and Corporation in their robes, and with the mace borne before them; but the New Corporation Act has led to a woeful stripping of the pageant. . . . While the Court continues, day by day, you see the train of javelin men come marching on foot with the state carriage of the Sheriff to conduct him from his lodgings to those of the Judge, and back again at the close of the Court in the evening, till the trials are ended, and Judge, Sheriff, gay carriage with its splendid hammer-cloth, jolly coachman, and slim footmen in their cocked hats and flaxen wigs, javelin men, and crowd, all meet and vanish away, and the excitement of the Assize is over for another half-year.

THE ENGLISH FARMER.

Part 2. Ch. 1. Page 87-8. Wm. Howitt pictures the English farmer of 50 years ago on his way to market, riding or driving along a road whose footpaths are crowded with a hardy and homely succession of pedestrians, men and women with their baskets on their arms, containing their butter, eggs, apples, mushrooms, walnuts, nuts, elderberries,

blackberries, bundles of herbs, young pigeons fowls, or whatever happens to be in season On the return journey the farmers go riding and driving three times as fast as they came in for they are primed with good dinners and strong beer. They have chaffered, and smoked, and talked with the great grazier and the great corn-factor, and their horses are full of corn too ; and away they go in fours and fives, filling the width of the road, talking all together, while their horses are trotting at such a pace as one would think would shake the very teeth out of their heads. There is no class of men, he says, who if times are but tolerably good, enjoy themselves so highly as farmers. They are little kings. . . . That they have generally a sounder morality than a similar class of townsmen is indisputable. They have a simplicity of mind as well as manners that is more than an equivalent for the polish and conventional customs of society, and with this a cordiality that is very delightful and very rarely now to be found—the good homely heartiness of Old English days.

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Our author puts on record that the rage for large rentals, inspired by the war prices, and the swallowing up of a dozen moderate farms in one over-grown one—a desert from which both small farmers and labourers were compelled to depart to make way for machinery and Irish labourers at 4d. a day—had done grievous harm, even 50 years ago. He hoped for a change, and the restoration of farms of fifty to a hundred acres, for men of small capital—humble homesteads where a father and his sons may work together ; where labour may await their days, and an independent fireside their hours of rest.

FARM LABOURERS.

In some parts of England, fifty years ago, the practice yet survived of the farmers' men living with the employer ; but separation into distinct classes with distinct and separate interests had come to be the rule. William Howitt was under the necessity of speaking of the farm servants as that part of the population for which little had been done, and of which little had been thought. He pictures the growing up of a farm servant—the lad as learning his business, but learning nothing else, until he became a man, as simple, as ignorant, and as laborious as one of the waggon-horses that he drove. The farm labourer of that day saw no newspaper,

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and if he did he could not read it; if he heard his master reading it, ten to one but he dropped asleep over it: in fact, he had no interest in it. The labourer knows there is such a place as the next town, for he goes there to the statutes, and to the fair: and he has heard of Lunnon, and the French, and Buonaparte, and of late years of America, and he has some dreamy notion that he should like to go there if he could raise the wind, and thought he could find his way—and that is all he knows of the globe and his concerns, beyond his own fields. . . . He is as much of an animal as air and exercise, strong living and sound sleeping, can make him, and he is nothing more. Harvest time is the jubilee of his year—it is a joyous and stirring time. There is no other season of the year in which the farm servant enjoys himself so much as in harvest; not even in his few other days of relaxation—on his visit to the fair, to the statutes, to the poughing match, or on *Mothering* Sunday, when all the “servant-lads” and “servant-wenches” are, in some parts of country, set at liberty for a day, to go and see their mothers.

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Page 119-122.

In the north of England—Durham and Northumberland,—and in the south of Scotland, a system of bondage existed—the very mention of which by Wm. Howitt raised a terrible clamour, and any amount of excuse that it was not so bad as he had painted it, still less as Wm. Cobbett had painted it in 1832—six years earlier. If the visitor from the south noticed—as he could not fail to do—that bands of from half-a-dozen to a dozen women, generally young, were a marked feature of the agricultural system of the country, and made enquiry, he got the reply, “O, they are the Bone-ditchers,” i.e., Bondagers. Wm Howitt says, in explanation of the system:—On all the large estates no married labourer is permitted to dwell unless he enters into bond to comply with this system. The labourers are termed hinds. Small houses are built for men on the farms, and a hind engaging to work on one of the farms has a house assigned to him. He has £4 a year in money; the keep of a cow; his fuel found him—a prescribed quantity of coal, wood, or peat to each cottage; he is allowed to plant a certain quantity of land with potatoes; and has thirteen boles of corn furnished him for his family consumption, one-third being oats, one-third barley, and one-third peas. In return for these advantages he is bound to give his labour the year round, and also to furnish a woman labourer at 1s. per day

during harvest, and 8d. a day for the rest of the year. There was in William Howitt's opinion a condition approaching very near serfdom and descended from it. Nominally a voluntary system, it was shown by our author to be a system that was not just, nor favourable to the social and moral improvement of the labouring class. The cottages, which were part of the hire, were houses of one story, generally of one room only—some kept neatly—the majority dismal abodes. William Howitt's inquiries in various places discovered one general sentiment of discontent with them.

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William Cobbett had described large tracts of country wholly destitute of people; immense tracts of corn land, but neither cottages nor churches. "Northumberland has its 88 parishes while Suffolk has 510; so here is a county, one-third part smaller than that of Northumberland, with six times as many villages in it." William Howitt found that Cobbett's picture of the morals of the people was not too highly coloured, and this low condition he traces to the bondage system, which unfitted girls for domestic duties, and gave them out-of-door tastes and habits. Full of health and spirits and glad enough to range over the farm fields, in a troop, with a stout young fellow, laughing and gossiping—the grievance is both one of the girls and the poor hinds, who has to maintain them. Just when his family becomes large, and he has need of all his earnings to feed, and clothe, and educate his troop of children, then he is compelled to hire and maintain a woman to eat up his children's food; and to take away in her wages that little pittance of cash that is allowed him, as many a wife, with tears in her eyes, has said, "to clothe the puir bairns and put them to school."

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Though the system was nominally one of voluntary engagement, and there was, in theory, freedom of contract, it was in truth the reverse, from the fact that a hind was compelled to have a character from his last master, which, in the course of the excusing of the system, was spoken of as merely a certificate called "The Lines," stating that he is free from his former service. The other hold the employer had on the hind was that he might not only be turned out of employment, but out of house—Cobbett had truthfully said, he had no home. As to the practical effect of the first-named condition, Wm. Howitt cites the experience gained in the district of the collieries of Derbyshire and Notts. The employers to strengthen their combination

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Rural Life of England, for the regulation of the price and supply of coals—made it a rule that no man should be employed except he brought a character from his last master. The result was that every man was speedily the bounden slave of him in whose employment he was; that soon the price of coals was raised to three times their actual value, and the labour of the man restricted to about three half days, or a day and a half per week. Our author protests that such a condition must generate a slavish character, and be fatal to that noble independence of feeling which is the boast of the humblest Englishman. Happily his plea for the freedom of labour has been answered, and the truck system has been abolished, in agriculture, as in other occupations.

A Seaside Resort fifty Years ago.



Rural Life of England, One of the strongest contrasts between the England of fifty years ago and the England of to-day is presented by the perusal of the chapter Part 4. in which William Howitt describes a watering Ch. 4. place on the Wash. His picture would serve just as well for any other similar resort at that time.

THE VISITORS.

Page 502-3. He says of the rural watering places of those days: They are the resort of what may be styled the burgher and agricultural part of the population. Many a jolly company is made up "to go to the salt water," and away they go in gigs and tax-carts, or on scampering horses, with more life and spirit than most people return from more celebrated places. The custom, yet followed in Lancashire by hosts of operatives, of paying an annual visit to the seaside, had then fully established itself. "From Preston, Blackburn, Bolton, Oldham, and all the rest of those great spinning and weaving towns, you see them turning out by whole wagon and cart-loads, bound for Blackpool and such places; and they who have not seen the swarming loads of these men and women and children, their fast driving, and their obstreperous merriment, have not seen one of the most common scenes of English life."

THE ENTERTAINERS.

The watering place which William Howitt pictures "possessed a most bounteous provision of two great articles in demand in the autumnal months in cities—salt water and fresh air, for which a thousand inconveniences would be endured." It had its one hotel, but that was crowded to its utmost capacity: "Lord bless you, sir," said the landlady, a woman of most surprising corporeal dimensions, in a white gown, an orange-coloured neckerchief, and a very large and very rosy face, as she stood before the bar, filling the whole width of the passage: "Lord bless you, sir, if you'd give me a thousand golden guineas in a silken purse I should not know where to put you. We've turned hundreds and hundreds of most genteel people away, that we have, within this very week, and the house is fit to burst now, it's so hugeous full. But you'll get accommodation at the town?" "What town?" said I, "is there a town near?" "Why, town we call it; but it's the village, you know; it's Fastsidge here, not more than a mile off: if you follow the bank along the shore you'll go straight to it. You can't miss it." Fastsidge proved to be made up of "a few scattered cottages, placed among their respective crofts and gardens, and here and there a farm-house with its substantial array of ricks about it, denoting that the dwellers were well off in the world." All the cottages and many of the farm-houses had their visitors; but "an equipage and something like a departing group at the door of one of the cottages" spoke of possible vacant rooms. William Howitt made enquiry, and found he could have the use of two rooms, a parlour and chamber over it. "Perhaps," said the neat cottage housewife, "as a single gentleman, you may not like to occupy so much room, for just at this season we charge rather high." "And, pray," said I, "what may be the enormous price you are charging for these rooms, then?" "Seven shillings a-week each room, and half a-crown for attendance," looking at me with an inquiring eye, as if apprehensive that I should be astounded at the sum. "What! the vast charge of sixteen and sixpence per week?" I replied, smiling, "for two rooms and attendance?" "Yes," said the simple dame; "but then, you see, you will have to live besides, and it all comes to a good deal. But you may be a gentleman that doesn't mind a trifle." Entering into possession, the visitor found the rooms to be "as

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Rural Life rustic and nicely clean as could be found under of England, such a humble roof. The cottage stood in a thoroughly rural garden, full of peas, beans, and cabbages, with a little plot round the house gay with marigolds, hollyhocks, and roses, and sweet with rosemary and lavender." The only other visitor in the house was thus described by the housewife "A very nice young man indeed; but, poor young gentleman, he enjoys but very indifferent health. Sometimes I think he's been crossed in love, for I happened to cast my eye on one of his books—he reads a power of books—and there was a deal about love in it. It was all in poetry, you see, and so on; and then, again, I fancy he's consumptive, though I wouldn't like to say a word to him, lest it should cast him down, poor young man; but he reads too much, in my opinion, a great deal too much; he's never without a book in his hands when he's indoors; and that's not wholesome, you are sure, to be sitting so many hours in one posture, and with his eyes fixed in one place. But God knows best what's good for all; and I often wonder whether he has a mother. I should be sorely uneasy on his account, if I were her." Acquaintance with this "consumptive" young man showed him to be a good-natured fellow, with a taste for all poets and philosophers, for Goldsmith, Shenstone, and Addison, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Tom Moore—one fond of poetry and romance, having a fancy for mathematics, a player on the fiddle and the flute, and a man with quite a *penchant* for natural history. The master of the house was a shrimper, whom the visitor soon came to see regularly tracing the edge of the tide with his old white horse and net hung beside him—an old fellow full of character and anecdotes of the wrecks and sea accidents on that coast for 40 years past,

THE ENTERTAINMENT.

Page 507-511. Visitors to the seaside in those days had to be content with much fewer and much humbler forms of amusement and recreation than are now to be found in every place of resort. The postman was the daily carrier, who brought from the nearest town such luxuries as tea and sugar. On the beach in front of the hotel was a row of bathing machines, and the hotel had its bowling green. William Howitt says he and his fellow lodger were accustomed to stroll into the churchyards, admiring the singularly large and excellent churches, all of solid stone; the spacious graveyard, and the large heavy headstones adorned with carved skulls and cross-bones, and gilded

angles, with long trumpets, figured above the simple epitaphs of the departed villagers. The farm-houses, too, surrounded with tall elms, and with a great air of wealth and comfort, drew their attention. The great embankment formed a delightful walk, when the tide was roaring up against it. Here the male portion of the visitors came to bathe. They generally undressed near enough to swim or wade in company, and to splash one another and play all manner of practical jokes. Along the sands they ranged every day collecting shells, leaping the narrow channels of salt water left in the hollows, shooting gulls, watching the shrimps and crabs, and botanising amongst the patches of sea-wilderness. At the house opposite theirs was the merriest crew, who had a sort of ordinary table where one could dine at a fixed and very moderate charge—as all charges were there. Here were found about a dozen people. One, who appeared and proved to be an old gentleman-farmer, a Mr. Milly, always took the head of the table, and a merrier mortal could not have been there, except he who occupied the other end, a fellow of infinite jest like Sir John Falstaff, and to the full as corpulent. They were a company that could laugh heartily; they had merry hearts: for the most part farmers and tradesmen full of youth and life, who had brought their horses with them, and some of their gigs, and were fond of mounting and scouring away on the shore for miles together. The great business, indeed, was to bathe, and eat, and drink, and ride or walk, and play at quoits or bowls. The evenings were made merry with plenty of joking and laughter, and an occasional dance. The very extreme of dissipation was a ball at the hotel.



Our Fens and Marshes: a Bit of Local History.

Our Fens and Marshes.

When we travel by rail to Yarmouth our journey is along a line of marsh land. If we go by rail to Cambridge, or to Lincoln by way of Ely or Lynn, we see on either hand—from Brandon in the one case, from Lynn in the other—a low-lying, black, peaty level, as far as the eye can reach. We know as a fact that the present is not as was the past. But what sort of a past the present has followed is not so evident. Not very many years ago there was no means of knowing this. Now, from a mass of facts that has been slowly gathered, we may read much of this old-time natural history. In the days of the youth of some of us, the record of man was supposed to be found only in the Bible and a few classic writings. Now, by a comparison of man's present condition in many lands, his past is read like a book. My endeavour will be to tell briefly some part of the story of this corner of England, and try to show how our fens and marshes have influenced the lives of the folk who have dwelt here.

EVIDENCES OF THE PAST.

In a room of the Norwich Museum we see some of the things which lead men to the belief that what is now sea was, at one time, land. On the beach between Caister and Overstrand the visitor finds masses of clay, with leaves thickly embedded. These masses, like the tusks and bones of huge animals stored in the Museum, have been brought ashore by storm. All the leaves are leaves of a willow. Willows demand abundant moisture. The conclusion is that the masses of clay and the remains of huge beasts alike come from what was once a marsh. In the lands bordering Norfolk on the west, men have found similar remains, in a similar marshy bed. This area we know as Fen-land. Off some parts of the north coast of the county there is

a sunken forest bed. For many another mile beyond the present coast-line the waters are very shallow, as though there was there also a great marsh. In Fenland and Marshland we get glimpses of a life that was once lived, and the story has been brought down to us in various ways.

Our Fens
and
Marshes.

THE GREAT EAST FOREST BED.

First then of the great marsh that probably bordered our little bit of land on the east. Charles Kingsley, in one of his charming Prose Idylls, says the rivers of the East of England tell a story of these by-gone days. Our rivers and broads are stocked with rough or white fish—roach, dace, chub, bream, and with their natural attendant and devourer the pike. These fish belong almost exclusively to the rivers of North-East Europe. From some now submerged centre of creation they must have spread into the rivers where they are now found. They were spread by fresh water—for salt water would have been fatal to them. Another fish—the eel-pout or burbot—whose nearest relative is the sea-ling—has, Kingsley says, been shut out of its home—the salt waters—and now, degraded in form, dwindling in numbers, and fast dying out, exists under novel conditions in the Fens. The bird known as the bearded tit was plentiful in the Fens, not many years ago, before the last of the meres had been drained. Kingsley cites this as proof that reed-beds used to be found all across the German ocean. The home of the beautiful little bird, with its long tail, orange-tawny plumage, and black moustache, is the marshes of Russia and Prussia; and his food, the mollusks which swarm among reed-beds. His course hither must have been along a line of marshes. Not the least interesting bit of the mosaic that has been put together to present to us a picture of those far-away days in Norfolk is that 36 years after they had lain in a cabinet of curiosities, a student of nature, Mr. Alfred Newton, recognised the remains of a little fresh-water tortoise that must have come from the meres of Eastern Europe, and found its home and its burial place in a bog at Wretham. The journey of this visitor to Norfolk must have been by fresh water. The animals that ranged over the great marsh, and whose bones are to be seen in the Museum, belong to a time when as yet the fen that we know, had not begun to be. They came, however, from a thin bed of peat, which in the fen underlies the gravelly deposit wherein traces of man's handi-work have been discovered.

FEN LAND.

Our Fens
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Marshes.

Coming next to Fen land on our western border. There is evidence that a forest of oak and yew grew on what was a rich lowland. Oak grew on the strong clayey soil ; yew on that which was sandy and gravelly. The trunks and roots of noble trees have been preserved for us in the peat—one of the best of preservatives. One such trunk of yew now spans a drain in Feltwell Fen. It measures between three and four feet in diameter. Oak trunks, $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards in length, were found when Whittlesea Mere was drained in 1851, and firs 30 yards in length. Mr. Skerchley, who won his incomparable knowledge of Fenland as a worker in the Geological Survey, notes that when oak, yew, and fir occur together, the fir is uppermost in the peat. He pictures a succession of four forest growths : the lower, massive oak ; two feet above the old level, yet another growth of smaller oak and yew, with the more rapid growing fir. In the upper two feet of peat two successive growths of fir. The soil on which the oak grew, washed down from higher levels, is a blue, buttery clay that extends under all parts of the Great Level, and for many years past has been used to improve the fen lands. It covers, as with a blanket, the earlier deposits of green sand, gault, and chalk, and in depth varies from 4ft. to 30ft. In places it even covers peat moor. If the Level were bared to this clay, the tides would deluge the whole plain with water 18 to 30 feet deep. The legitimate conclusion from this fact is, that when oak and yew grew there the land was higher than it is now.

The meeting of the tides and of the streams, the deposits of mud by the water, and the growth of moss, were fatal to the forest trees. These, singular to say, are broken off at a uniform height, as though by human agency. A convenient theory which has been put forth to explain this circumstance is the Noachian Deluge. But this theory does not serve the purpose when there are four growths of wood, as it were layer after layer, all showing a similar peculiarity. The sufficient explanation is that tree life was killed by the too abundant moisture in which trunks and roots were bathed.

MARSH LAND.

The continuous set of the sea current, along the Lincolnshire coast, brought then into the sunken area—as it now brings into the Wash—accumulations of soil upon which some early dwellers in this part of the land put up a line of embankment. This is popularly known as the Roman Wall,

though it is more than probable that it was in existence before the Romans knew Britain, for some twenty-five tumuli, manifestly British, are found along the line of the bank and not far from it. While this Marsh land, in the northern part of the Great Level, was being thus formed, it is possible that similar causes converted into comparatively dry land all the tract of low-lying country that extends from Norwich eastwards to the sea, and which is even now only a very few feet above high water mark.

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WHO WERE THE FIRST SETTLERS ?

One's interest in the question of the origin of the fens, pales before the question who were the early settlers, and whence came they ? It does not serve the purpose now to say that they were savages, whose only clothing was a few skins, and their ornament woad stains. Savages working with a few flint chips, could not have built banks to withstand the sea waves, or dug a great drain like the Cardyke. They would not have been united enough to construct causeways across the marshy lands. Neither would they have been organised to the degree that warranted the formation of camps. Comparative history, with its reasonings from the particular to the general, here comes to our aid. It leads us to the conclusion that more than once the land was invaded by races who have left no written records. Mr. Skerchley found traces of man's work near Brandon, that convinced him that there had been a settlement there when as yet there was no fen. A resident in Feltwell, in a paper read recently, said he had twice seen in Feltwell Fen remains of fires, such as could only have been made by man. The first remains were small pieces of charred wood. The other fire was in a clay-hole, that had been dug near the stump of a tree. It was evident from the burnt state of the stump, and the pieces of wood partly burnt, that a fire had been kindled by the side of the tree. This is a noteworthy bit of evidence. Feltwell Fen has, according to this same observer, only one forest bed whose roots are dug out of the gault. The fire must have been lit while as yet the tree was living, and the conclusion is that man was a dweller in the lowland before it became Fen land. Moreover, this same observer reports that, in the year 1890, the skull of a man was dug up from the bottom of the clay in the same fen, whence have been recovered flint arrow-heads, stone hammers, and remains of the wild boar, the stag, and the beaver.

Students think they have found in surviving customs the means of determining what manner of

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folk were these early settlers. Bits of folk-lore help them also to a conclusion. Especially has the study of village life been fruitful. It is certain that man's course was westward from some centre of life. They were pastoral folk, yet not ignorant of working in metals, as is shown by the records of ancient Babylon, now being deciphered from clay tablets and cylinders. As the outflow went on, men came further and further west. We know this because there are yet in Europe a few survivals of these old-time folk, who have died out, or been crossed out, on the plains whence they had their starting point. One such survival, that of a migration it may be 4,000 to 5,000 years ago, is found in Finland—the Fen-land north of the Baltic. "The Finn belongs to a race which was active and civilised before the Greek or the Indian, the Jew or the Persian, was heard of ; a race, one of the branches of which worked in metals, built Babylon, practised the arts of magic there, and enacted laws in favour of women's rights long before the first Semitic King took his seat on the throne of that historic city. The Finns, after having cleared forests, worked mines, created religions, composed epic poems, in Asia, wandered into Russia, and settled in the country watered by the Volga, whence in time, they were driven to the marshy desolate pastures of the north." This may possibly serve as a description of the settlers in this district of marshes that was so much like their distant home. At any rate, we have in our excavations in the chalk—Grimes' Graves on the border of the Norfolk fen, and in the pits at Weybourne and other parts of North-East Norfolk, just such provision for the storage of grain as was used by the ancient peoples. The recently-discovered store-houses in Pithom, possibly the work of the children of Israel when under bondage, shows that the Egyptians, in default of pits for the storage of grain, constructed, above ground, chambers as nearly like pits as possible.

Another singular bit of evidence, which is said to be a survival of primitive religion in Norfolk, has been put on record by Dr. Jessepp. There was to be heard at Beeston-next-Mileham a year or two ago a curious harvest chant, which a contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine" interprets as the survival of an old Pagan hymn—an epitome of heathen belief, with some admixture of Christian ideas.

At any rate the Great Level and Marsh—our Fen-land—was certainly frequented by folk of whom our only direct knowledge is to be gained from their roads, their rude weapons, unbaked

pottery, stone axes, and canoes, which have been recovered in many parts of the Fen. One of these canoes was dug out at Deeping Fen in 1839. It was hollowed out of a single log of oak 4 feet deep, 5 feet 8 inches across at the stern, and of the extraordinary length of 46ft. All the canoes exhumed have occurred near the present rivers, and while the history of some may be that they were poled up or down these streams, and were stranded upon the banks or lost in the morasses, others appear to have been tight new craft, unlaunched from their primitive dock-yards.

Another relic of these old folk, which cannot be questioned, is found at Lincoln, a strong position which the Romans afterwards occupied. Professor Freeman, describing William the Conqueror's first visit to Lincoln, says :—

"The Danish borough had more than one predecessor. The valley of the Witham, and the ridge on which Lincoln stands, are alike traversed by those great roads which abide as the noblest relics of the days of Roman dominion. The steep was climbed by the united line of the Ermine Street and the Foss Way. But the Roman was not the first to occupy the spot. His road after climbing the hill cuts through an earlier town to the north of the present city, of which the dyke and foss are still to be seen. The road itself, the Ermine Street, notwithstanding all the ages which have passed since it was first traced out and paved, is still distinguished from a yet older track by the name of the New Street, and the New Street leads to the New Port, the Roman arch of massive stones which still remains the entrance to the city from the north." It must be admitted that there could hardly be a more striking instance of the survival of a name, than that of the New Street, which was, some 1600 years ago, new only by comparison with the road laid down by men whom we used to be told by our teachers were savages.

The ancient causeways were presumably the only lines of communication through an otherwise impassable region. The Fens had long before the Roman settlement been a sort of natural barrier against invading enemies from the south, as is seen in the fact that the four remarkable dykes, extending parallel to each other across the county of Cambridge, terminate just upon the edge of the fen. So of the Devil's Ditch, from Brandon to Narborough, which was in its turn a rampart against invaders from the east. These ditches were dug by the early inhabitants, as their lines of defence. One of the Cambridge dykes is so ancient as to

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Our Fens and Marshes. have been filled up for the Icknield Way to pass over it, and this way was a Roman adoption of an earlier British road.

ST. GUTHLAC AND THE FENMEN.

That there were survivors of these earlier settlers existing in Saxon times, is evident from a monkish story told of St. Guthlac, the hermit who founded Croyland in the 6th Century. This story, written in the Anglo-Saxon speech possibly as early as the 8th Century, recounts how there were creatures who used to hale St. Guthlac out of his turf hut, drag him through the bogs which surrounded the lonely patch of gravel to which he had retired, and carry him aloft through frost and snow—Develen and luther gostes the old monk terms them. The old story says that the Saint was one night disturbed by a horrid howling, was seriously alarmed, thinking that the howlers might be Britons, the inveterate enemies of the Saxons. Upon looking out, however, he discovered that they were *only* devils, whereby he was comforted, the Britons being the worse of the two. These disturbers of the monk's quiet, of course were the men of the old race, who were supposed to haunt meres and fens, and to have an especial fondness for old heathen, *i.e.*, British barrows with their fancied treasure hoards. We are told they were in countenance horrible, and they had great heads, a long neck, and a lean visage. They were filthy and squalid in their beards, and they had rough ears and crooked nebs, and fierce eyes and foul mouths. Their teeth were like horses' tusks, their throats were filled with flame, and they were grating in their voice. They had crooked shanks, knees big, and great behind, and twisted toes. They cried hoarsely with their voices, and they came with such immoderate noise and immense horror that it seemed that all between heaven and earth resounded with their voices. This is the monk's noteworthy portrait of those ancient Britons.

BRITISH PILE-DWELLINGS.

Writham, which has preserved the memory of a strange visitor, has also provided us with another yet more valuable record of the people who lived in the fen and marsh district before Roman, Saxon, Dane, or Norman claimed to govern this part of England. In the year 1851, when Writham West Mere was drained of its waters, underneath 8 feet of mud were found bones of the red deer and of the now extinct long-faced ox. Near the centre was a circular bank of fine white earth 20ft, or 30ft. across, and about 4ft. in height. Not

far from its inner circumference was a hole deeper than the rest of the mere, piled and evidently once wattled. Here, with the remains of a wall built of flints packed together with marl, were found bones and portions of a rudely-constructed ladder. In brief, here were contained the remains of a lake dwelling, once the home of people who ate the meat of the long-fronted ox, hunted the red deer, sawing off the antlers when necessary, breaking open the bones of the slaughtered animals to get at the marrow, and using flint sling-stones as weapons of offence. Part of another lake dwelling, the posts of oakwood shaped and pointed by man, was found buried in the mud of Wretham Great Mere in the year 1856. These would all appear to be memorials of the settlers who were here long before the Celts, and while as yet varieties of animals, now extinct, were plentiful in this marshy district.

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ROMAN AND BRITON.

When the Romans set about making Britain their own, they seem to have been content for a time with a formal possession of the marsh and fen districts. If Mr. Walter Rye's suggestion be accepted that Norse settlers had come in, in succession to the Celts, the tribes whom the Romans spoke of as the Iceni must have been awkward folk to attack, full of vigour as these hardy Norsemen were. There was much more water communication in East and West Norfolk than now exists. The marshes have grown up considerably since then, and probably there has been a small elevation of the land, for shallow vessels then sailed where they would now be aground. This is evidenced by the construction of Caister and Warham Camps.

A look at the surroundings of Norwich from the Castle Hill convinces one that the *burh* of the British was a strong position not readily assailable on the land side, and less so from the water. Marshes surrounded the old Iceni capital, where the rivers did not run. The fords across the streams were few; the chief one, Harford, *i.e.*, the ford over the water—a British name. No wonder, then, that the Romans took up strong positions beyond the marshes, at Caister, Tasburgh, and on the Yare estuary, so that they might intercept the lines of communication both by land and water. Their settlement at Colney, now a memory only by reason of the name, must in like manner have had as its origin the control of the only practicable fords. Policy rather than arms won for the Romans ultimate authority in this district. A writer in the "British Quarterly Review" makes this observation :—As there were

Our Fens and Marshes. never any Roman towns within the levei, and as numerous forts and stations (including Lincoln, one of the most important Roman cities in Britain) were set all round the Fen boundary, this Pontine plain of fens and marshes was fenced in first as the retreat of the almost amphibious Britons and then as the covert landing place of northern pirates." This seems to describe correctly the relation that the Roman power bore also to the great marsh-lands that then lay on the east and north of Norfolk. The Romans ultimately built roads across the very heart of the fens. They also secured perfect communication through the East Norfolk marsh district. The great roads ran right through Norwich to the north, and thence west. From Denver they ran by March and Whittlesea to Peterborough. This great fen road was a causeway of gravel three feet in thickness, and from 40 to 60 feet wide, with a foundation (in places) of oak timber and rag stones, resting upon the peat moor, which has become partially solidified by its weight. The Romans must also have made more effective the great sea wall which defended the low fenland, for it is connected with Roman localities, and relics of their occupation have been found close up to it on the landward side, and even in the centre of the bank itself. Their settlements are even now distinguished by a reference to the wall—Walpole, Walsoken, Walton. All the Roman vestiges, however, point out the antiquity of the fen itself, for weapons, coins, urns, household utensils, foundations, roads, and names, which show that the Romans ultimately controlled the district, also show that the settlement was after the peat bed was formed. The Roman mementoes occur only in the marine alluvium that covers the peat.

THE GREAT NORSE AND ENGLISH INVASION.

History records that the Romans previous to and at their withdrawal from Briton drafted to the Continent the flower of the male population. Hence the renewed invasions of Norsemen and Angles, with their uncivilised ways, was followed by our fens and marshes falling into a troubulous condition. We see this incidentally in the description of the surroundings of Guthlac's little bit of dry land in a waste of waters, where was built the famous Croyland. This young warrior, noble, tired of sinning and slaying during an active life of twenty-five years, wandered into the fen, and was taken in a canoe to a spot so lonely as to be almost unknown. There in a home buried in reeds and alders, and among the trees which

grew on the tiny mound of gravel, he taught men the necessity of combined effort for fighting the brute powers of nature, and the sense of a common humanity. St. Guthlac's followers, in their sanctuary lying between four Fen rivers, planted vineyards, and orchards, cultivated the fen in dry seasons, and thus in time of famine were enabled to feed all people of the neighbouring fens. Within this home of peace and religion was neither tyranny nor slavery. Those who took refuge from cruel lords, in St. Guthlac's place, must keep his peace towards each other, and earn their living like honest men ; and they were safe while they did so. The picture by contrast throws into strong light the unwritten story of man's lowly condition outside these refuges for the distressed. The Chronicle which purports to have been written by Ingulph, a successor of St. Guthlac (installed as prior in the year 1176), says there were then in the monastery 62 monks, and more than 100 visiting monks from other monasteries. These visitors came just when they pleased and abode there 6 or 12 months at a time. This was more especially the case in the time of war, and when the least whirlwind muttered in time of peace, for then, says the chronicler, like bees returning to their hives when it threatens rain, so did they flock from every quarter to Croyland. Of the 100 monks visiting Croyland in the year 1176, the chronicle says 14 came from Christ Church at Norwich (now our Cathedral), and 15 from Thetford. St. Guthlac's haven of peace was not the only one where practical religion was taught. In the marsh district of Norfolk a good many homes of monks and nuns were made in and near the wastes. We have memories of them at Crabbe's Abbey, at Pentney, at West Dereham, at St. Bennett's, at Walsingham, and at Binham. In the fens themselves, Ely, Peterborough, and Ramsey on their part, served a similar purpose to Croyland.

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A FEN-MAN WHO BECAME A SAINT.

Canon Kingsley in his book, "The Hermits," tells the story of another fen-man, St. Godric, of Finchale. This Norfolk man of the 11th Century, born at Walpole, did not take to field-work, but wandered through the fens as a pedlar. Next he became a sailor, voyaging to Denmark and Flanders, and thus spent 16 years of his manhood. Later on he was steward to a rich man in the fens, where the roystering life of the young men, and their cruelty to the English villains turned the strong patriot's thoughts to the need of a better, a self-sacrificing life. So, after visiting Rome and the Holy Sepulchre, he

Our Fens and Marshes. became a hermit saint near the city of Durham. The portrait of this old Norfolk fenman is thus drawn by eye-witnesses. He was a man of great breadth of chest and strength of arm ; black-haired, hook-nosed, deep-browed, with flashing grey eyes—altogether a personable and able man, having mother-wit in plenty, and an insight into men and things, which the monks of Durham were ready enough to call the spirit of prophecy. This portrait may have served for many another Norfolk man, whose life among the fens and marshes had fostered in him the spirit of freedom.

THE DOMESDAY RECORD.

That great national record, Domesday, tells the story in its own way. In counties colonised by the Saxons there was a preponderance of *servi* and *villani*—poor men in a servile condition that was little removed from slavery. In Norfolk there were 4,277 freemen ; in Suffolk, 5,344 ; in Essex, only 314 ; and 162 in all the rest of England. The majority of the Norfolk men were, in fact, small independent freeholders, there being only four per cent. of *servi* ; and of the folk whom we should term villagers, there was about the average of the rest of England.

THE FEN HERO.

The last invasion by the Danes found favour in the eyes of the fenmen, who were then largely of Danish blood. When the Normans came under William, the fenmen found a champion and hero in one Hereward, now spoken of as the Wake. This great character comes down to us drawn on the heroic scale in legend. Doubtless legend has added considerably to the exploits of the British leader in the revolt against the Normans. But the story, as we have it, is full of interest and instruction. Charles Kingsley's novel, which, has Hereward as its theme, may be said to be an epic of fen-life. The novel is now so well-known—it can be bought for 6d.—that one hardly need do more than mention it. The narrative of the life in the Camp of Refuge—under which title another modern writer has conveniently named the Isle of Ely—is undoubtedly founded on fact. A single knight of William's army, Sir Deda, forced his way into the isle. He was there hospitably entertained by Hereward and his English, and then sent back to William to report the strength of Ely isle. Richard of Ely, writing a few years after, says the knight reported that there was in the isle abundance of tame beasts and of wild stags, roe and goat in grove and marsh, martins, ermines, and fitchets

caught in hard winter in snares or gins. In the pools around were netted innumerable eels, great water wolves, and pickerel, perch, roach, turbot, lampreys, smelts, and the royal fish. Of birds there were innumerable geese, gulls, coots, divers, water crows, herons, ducks, taken by hundreds at a time. The end of the matter was, he told William, that the Frenchman might sit on Haddenham Field blockading Ely for seven years more ere they would make one ploughman stop short in his furrow, one hunter cease to set his nets, or one fowler to deceive the birds with springe or snare. Kingsley's description of the surrounding fen, which made capture by fair means well-nigh impossible, and of the attack by the Normans, when the fen swallowed up its host of victims; of how Hereward went forth to Weeting to spy the Normans; and how the brave men were compelled to carry on the fight in the greenwood after the monks had done after their kind—these are pictures full of vigour and truth. One cannot marvel at tradition handing down the story of such valiant deeds for England and for liberty.

The Fens and fenmen again played their part in the great constitutional struggle led by Simon de Monfort, and his son Simon, in Henry 3rd's days. It was not till Parliament had agreed, in 1267, to what are known as the Provisions of Oxford, that the struggle for constitutional rights ended, and the patriots who had made their camp of refuge in the Isle gave up further resistance.

FEN MEN AS A COMMUNITY.

The spirit of independence and of self-dependence was necessarily fostered by men's surroundings. But, true to the customs brought over by their fathers, the dwellers on the borders of the fen retained a form of communal government. At a very early period the Fen-men, finding great value in their rank herbage and hay, in their reed for thatching houses, and turf firing to warm them, became jealous of their common rights. To stop disputes, large tracts of open fen, on which the bordering townships were accustomed to graze their cattle, were subdivided by ditches, and parcelled out among these towns, each place having its own allotment in which to dig fuel or mow hay, but stocking the whole fen in common, before and after the appointed season for the growth and gathering in of the hay. Enclosure, in the modern sense of the term, was practised only upon some of the firmer and better drained marshland nearer the sea. The wolds, by which name the rising ground that bounded the fen is known, were portioned out for

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cultivation in common, or in strips allotted by ballot at the beginning of every season. The fen itself served to give the people fish and fowl ; the wold was cultivated for the growth of grain. Men had few wants in those days, and they were satisfied readily by this harvest of land and water garnered at home. Though they came under the authority of some holder of the King's fee, and had to follow him to the war, and help to contribute towards the payments which the feudal tenure carried with it, they were not worried by unruly warriors from castles in their midst. Fen, and marsh too, continued to be a protection against the use of Norfolk as a battle ground, in the many national disputes, that had their bloodiest contests in the Wars of the Roses and in the Parliamentary Wars. The rising in North-East Norfolk, in the peasants' struggle for liberty, threatened by the owners of the soil, when the Black Death had brought about an economic revolution, and the rising under Kett's leadership, against the enclosure of the commons, were not carried into fen or marshland. The respect for the home which Angle, Norse, and Dane inherited from their common ancestral race, continued down to recent times to be an animating spirit in the descendants of the settlers in Norfolk. This is seen in the fact that the ownership of a house, no matter how humble, carried with it communal rights and privileges. The parish vestry, the survival of the communal assembly, where all men were equal in voting powers—one man one vote—provided the man had a house over his head, kept this ancient democratic right in existence, though in comparatively recent times it fell into disrepute. It is plain from the writings of monks and chroniclers in those days, that men cared little for natural beauties, or for much else besides the holding fast to the rights which had come to them from their fathers.

DRAINAGE AND RECLAMATIONS.

John Capgrave, a native of Lynn, who lived there as an Augustinian monk, and was one of the earliest of our writers in English, might have been expected to have some thought, for the history and the natural history of the district in which he spent his days. But one looks in vain to him for a picture of lowly men and manners. The only bit we find in his pages, which has reference to fen or marsh, is the mention of a dispute of the monks of Ely with the Lady Wake. Doubtless this had arisen out of fen drainage, which had in some way touched the monks' pockets, their gains

coming from the sale of eels. The inheritors of Hereward the Wake's lands were among the first of the new nation of Englishmen who set about reclaiming the fens, and converting the drowned land into a rich corn-producing area. The chronicler of Croyland, writing in the name of Ingulf, records that Richard de Rulos, who had married the daughter and heiress of Hugh of Evermoe, Lord of Bourne and Deeping, being a man much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and who took much delight in the multitude of his cattle and sheep, got permission from the monks of Croyland, for 20 marks of silver, to enclose as much as he pleased of the common marshes. Upon this he enclosed a large area, shut out the River Welland by a strong embankment, because every year it had by its continual inundations overflowed nearly all the meadows adjoining its banks : from which circumstance, says the old prior, that village had in ancient times got the name of Deepyng—the deep meadow. This fine old English gentleman built upon the embankment numerous tenements and cottages, and in a short time formed a large village. He marked out gardens and cultivated fields. By shutting out the river, he found in the meadow land, which had lately been deep lakes and impassable marshes, most fertile fields and desirable land, and out of "sloughs and bogs accursed made quite pleasure garden." This beginning of the good work of recovering the rich fen, in the middle of the 12th century was only continued at long intervals, when the frequent breaking of the banks had often drowned the land. Thirty years after the Deeping drain was made the Marshlanders near the mouth of the Ouse—the tract being much flooded—came together, and with draining and banking won as much thereof by their industry as they could, says an old record. Nevertheless the waters gained much on the land, and work on a larger scale needed to be done. One Bishop Morton seems to have done his part, but, as a rule, monks and clerics left it to others to do what the old monks would have deemed it a privilege to do themselves.

CO-OPERATION OF FENMEN.

The old record shows that the spirit of co-operation was strongest among the common people. Co-operation, for mutual benefit in drainage as in other matters, was soon upheld, and enforced as a custom, and then usage and precedent became authoritative as law. The share of work allotted to each community, by the practice of the earliest times, was the repairing or enlarging, as the case might be,

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so much of the bank or watercourse as passed through or was contiguous to the town or parish. After a time, a more definite and equitable plan of apportioning the necessary work was introduced. The old custom provided no means to insure a fair subdivision of the burden among all the inhabitants: the poor may have been compelled to do the work and the powerful escaped. Accordingly, in 1293, a long main drain emptying into the Nene estuary having to be widened, Edward I. sent commissioners to inspect and distrain thereto, "so that no favour should be used therein either to rich or poor." The award was that there be an assessment on every man's land by an acreage rate, the tenants to be re-imburSED by the landlords. This continues to be the rule. Ultimately, in Henry 8th's days Commissioners of Sewers were appointed, and these bodies yet exercise great power over our fen and marsh land. Fen drainage has also been undertaken by companies of wealthy men, beginning in the year 1630.

THE LAST GREAT WORK.

The last great drainage operation was begun in 1851. This operation found its historian in Cuthbert Bede, better known to us as the writer of the amusing University sketch "Verdant Green," than as a Church of England parson. He ministered among the Fen-men for many years, and had just taken up his residence in the Whittlesea district when the drainage of the mere was undertaken. His account of this work is most interesting. It is to be read in the "Leisure Hour" volume for 1877. The same volume narrates the story of one of the many drownings-out of a portion of the Fen in the 18th century as taken down in 1877, from the lips of an old man in his ninety-second year. The great drowning of the Middle Level, some 27 years ago, was the last of a long series, for Marshland was drowned by the breakage of the sea walls no fewer than six times in the later years of the 13th century: again in the middle of the 14th century for a period of five years; and so on again and again. The punishment for neglect of sea walls sometimes took a strong form—the culprit was placed in the breach and built in. Fresh water floods, too, have often done much damage; and the worst of it is that man's endeavour to guard against them have been too often so much opposed to the natural course of flowing water as to lead to yet other mischief.

FEN INFLUENCE ON CHARACTER.

The great drownings of the Fen have, however, had this good influence on the fenmen, that they

have maintained and strengthened in them the spirit of self-control and self-denial, the doing for others as a man would be done by. Charles Kingsley graphically sets forth the resultant character of the modern fenmen :—

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Marshes.

“No one has seen a fen-bank break without honouring the stern, quiet temper which there is in these men, when the north-easter howling above, the spring-tide roaring outside, the brimming tide-way lapping up to the dyke-top, or flying over in sheets of spray : when round the one fatal thread which is trickling over the dyke—or worse through some forgotten rat’s hole in its side—hundreds of men are clustered, without tumult, without complaint, marshalled under their employers, fighting the brute power of nature, not for their employer’s sake alone, but for the sake of their own year’s labour and their own year’s bread. The sheep had been driven off the land below ; the cattle stand ranged shivering on high dykes inland—they will be saved in pupts if the worst befall. But a hundred spades, wielded by practised hands, cannot stop that tiny rat-hole. The trickle becomes a rush—the rush a roaring waterfall. The dyke-top trembles—gives, the men make efforts, desperate, dangerous, as of sailors in a wreck, with faggots, hurdles, sedge, turf ; but the bank will break ; and slowly they draw off, sullen, but uncomplaining, beaten, but not conquered. A new cry rises among them. Up to save yonder sluice, that will save yonder lode ; that again yonder farm ; that again some other lode, some other farm, far back inland, but guessed at instantly by men who have studied from their youth, as the necessity of their existence, the labyrinthine drainage of lands which are all below the water level, and where the inner lands, in many cases, are lower still than those outside.

“So they hurry away to the nearest farms—the teams are harnessed, the waggons filled, and drawn down, and emptied ; the beer cans go round cheerily, and the men work with a savage sort of joy at being able to do something, if not all, and stop the sluice on which so much depends. As for the outer land, it has gone past hope ; through the breach pours a roaring salt cataract, digging out a hole on the inside of the bank, which remains as a deep sullen pond for years to come. Hundreds, thousands of pounds are lost already, past all hope. Be it so then. At the next neap, perhaps, they will be able to mend the dyke, and pump the water out ; and begin again, beaten, but not conquered, the same everlasting fight with wind and wave which their forefathers have waged for now 800 years.

Our Fens
and
Marshes.

" He who sees—as I have seen—a sight like that, will repine no more that the primæval forest is cut down, and fair mere drained. For instead of mammoth and urus, stag and goat, that fen feed cattle many times more numerous than all the wild denizens of the primæval jungle, and produces crops capable of nourishing a hundred times as many human beings; and more—it produces men a hundred times as numerous as ever it produced before, more healthy and long lived—and, if they will, more virtuous and more happy than ever was Girvian in his log canoe, or holy hermit in his cell. So we who knew the deep fen will breathe one sigh over the last scrap of wilderness, and say no more; content to know that :—

" The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

There can be no more fitting leave-taking of the subject. Long may Fen men and Marsh men have such qualities, and show such evidence of true manhood !



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